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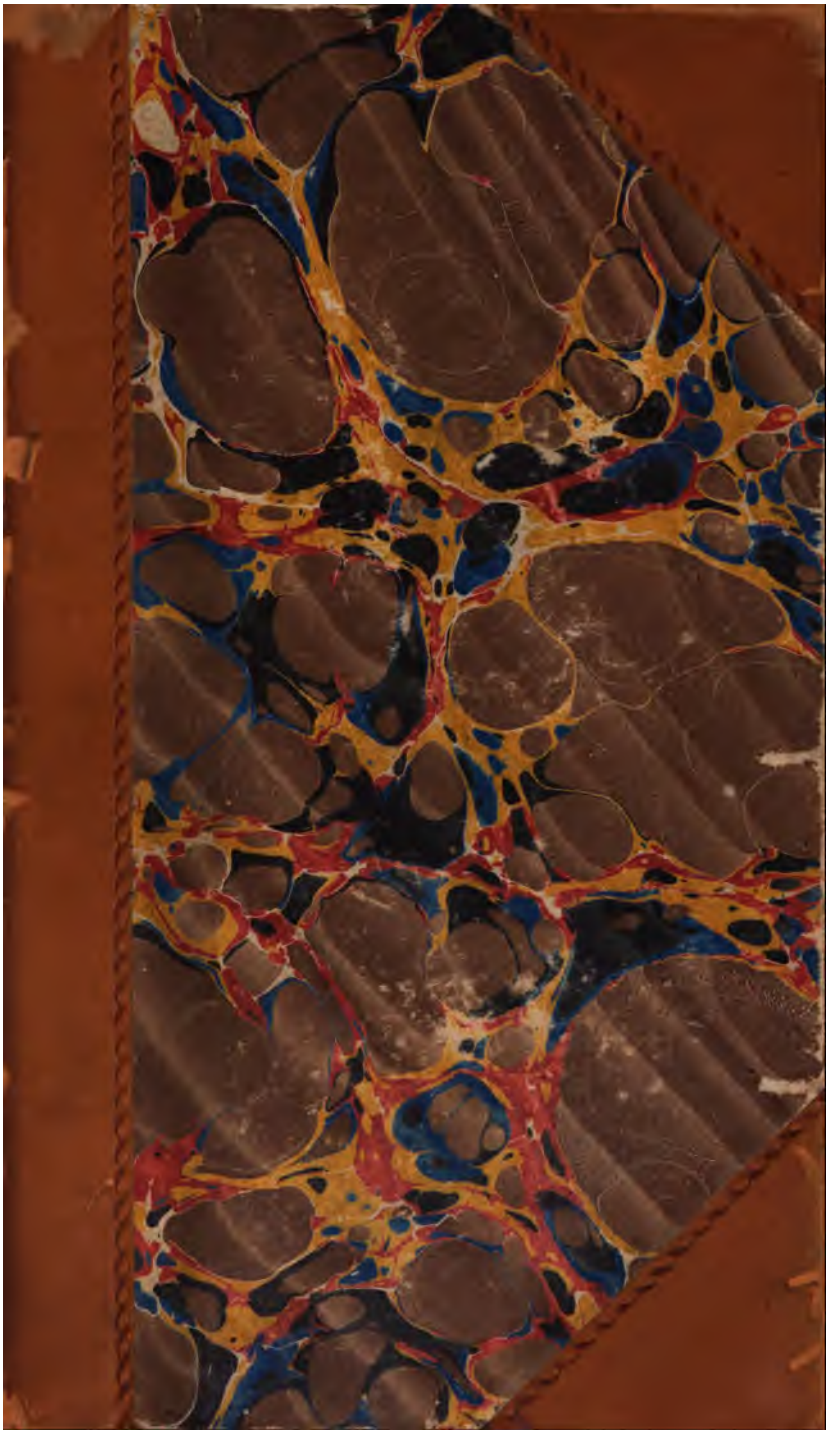

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MEMOIRS

OF

FRANCIS HOWGILL,

WITH

EXTRACTS FROM HIS WRITINGS.

By JAMES BACKHOUSE.

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PREFACE.

The following work is chiefly compiled from the writings of Francis Howgill, which were collected after his death, and published in the year 1676 in one volume folio, containing 736 pages, and entitled "The Dawnings of the Gospel day, and its Light and Glory discovered, &c."

The first part, comprising the life of Francis Howgill, has however received many additions from writings of some others of the Society of Friends, and from manuscript letters addressed by Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough to Margaret Fell, with which the compiler was kindly furnished by one of his friends; and he hopes it may prove, at least to the members of his own religious Society, a useful specimen of the labours and exercises into which the faithful labourers, in the earlier periods of the Society, were introduced, in bearing their testimony to the Truth as it is in Jesus.

Many of Francis Howgill's other writings besides those from which extracts are here given, contain much valuable matter; but those presented to the reader in this volume, appear to comprise the substance of most of the others, and to set forth the most important of the doc-

trines which he believed himself called upon to advocate. A catalogue of all his writings which have been published, is given at the end of this work.

In digesting the whole into its present form, the compiler has endeavoured to keep to the style and expressions of the originals, as much as the correction of verbal inaccuracies peculiar to the day in which the essays were written, and the reduction of great redundancy of expression, would admit. And he desires that the perusal of the records of the lively zeal, and patient and faithful labours, of such as were successful advocates of the Truth, may tend to stir up others to diligence, in the most important object of life, which is righteousness; that so they may know its work which is peace; and may prove its effect to be quietness and assurance for ever.

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LIFE

OF

FRANCIS HOWGILL.

CHAPTER I.

A short sketch of Francis Howgill's life; with an extract from his own account of his early religious experience.

Francis Howgill was born about the year 1618; and his residence was at Todthorne, near Grayrigg, in Westmoreland. He received a University education, and became a minister in the Episcopalian church; but afterwards left it, being dissatisfied with the superstition which he saw remaining in it, and joined himself to some Independents, amongst whom he became a teacher. Not, however, meeting with that spiritual comfort which his soul thirsted after, he went amongst the Anabaptists, apprehending that they walked more in accordance with the Gospel of Christ. Still he remained destitute of that peace of mind which he so earnestly longed for; and at length, about the thirty-fourth year of his age, he joined the persecuted society called Quakers; amongst whom he became a zealous member: and he died in communion with them, after having been about sixteen years eminent amongst them, as a minister, and on account of his writings and sufferings.

He has left a particular account of his early religious experience, in a work entitled, "The Inheritance of Jacob discovered after his return out of Egypt;" from which the reader is here presented with a copious extract.

"From twelve years old I set my heart to know that God whom the world professed, and whom I read of in the Scriptures; whom Abraham, Noah, Moses, the Prophets, and the rest of the Fathers worshiped: and I fell into the strictest worship that was in that part wherein I lived; and often I desired to be alone, and attended much to reading and meditation. And as I was sober and serious, I began to see that all the sports and pastimes, and such as youth delight in naturally are vanity, and that they last but for a moment: and while I was in folly and wantonness, doing them, the nature which was run into transgression had pleasure in them; but as soon as I was come from among them, I was judged in myself for what I had done; and it often made me weep. Then I resolved in my will that I would never do so again; and for some time refrained from the common practice of those things that I had walked in; but as soon as I came amongst them I acted those things again, which before I had seen to be vanity. But, long before that, I was checked for many things; and so I walked often condemned in myself, and had no peace when I was serious; and then, not knowing what to do, I was in much sorrow when I was alone. I had a desire to be alone where I might not see or hear any folly acted, and did not go to the former excesses, although something in me hankered after them: but when I yielded not I was glad and had peace. And then I began to oppose my fellows, with whom I had walked in wantonness; and they began to revile me, and

hate me, and scorn me; yet I mattered it not.

"Then I read much, and prayed in words, often three or four times in a day, yet knew not where God was, but imagined a God at a distance; and so went on. Then I began to grow in knowledge without, which is sensual; and I was puffed up, for the world admired me: but still I was condemned for vain words and actions; and the root of iniquity grew in me.

"Then I followed a more strict course, often went five or six miles to hear some more excellent means, as they called it, and so got more words; but still I was the same, nay worse, for knowledge puffed me up. Then about fifteen years of age I posted up and down after the most excellent sermons; and so became acquainted with all those called eminent Christians, in the region where I lived: and I was despised of my parents; and of the world made a wonder; and great reproach came upon me; but still I saw they knew nothing, and therefore it was no matter. So much sorrow fell upon me for four or five years; and when I turned within I was judged for all my former iniquities, and my heart was still shown to me, that it was corrupt: but as I kept within, to the Light in my conscience, I was restrained from many actions which I had a will to do; and in the instant, when I was doing any unrighteousness in actions or words, I was often stopped; and when I saw that I did it not, a great joy arose in me: but when I had done any thing forwardly or rashly I was judged. But this the teachers said was a natural conscience, that kept from sin, and restrained it; so I hearkened to their imaginations and slighted the Light as too low a thing, that was but common grace, that preserved out of gross evils. But they said the saints had a peculiar grace and faith; and so I

hearkened unto them, and was still convinced of sin. Then they told me that the saints believed in Christ, and so sin was not imputed, but his righteousness was accounted to them; and so I must seek him in the means, as prayer, and receiving the sacrament, as they called it; and they judged me a worthy communicant; and in great fear I was lest I should eat unworthily; and none could instruct me what the body of Christ was.

"At one time I read all the Scriptures that spake of Christ's sufferings. The teachers said I must believe He suffered for me; and I believed all that they called faith; yet I could not see how He died for me, and had taken away my sin; for the witness in my conscience told me, I was the servant of sin whilst I committed it: they told me I must not omit that ordinance, for thereby faith was confirmed and strength added. So on the one hand they pressed it as a duty; and on the other I saw that the Scripture said: "He that eats unworthily, eats damnation to himself." I was in fear, though none could accuse me from without; yet afterward a great fear fell upon me, and I thought I had sinned against the Holy Ghost, and great trouble fell upon me. Then they said, I had not come prepared; and yet I had all the preparation that they had spoken of: but they were all physicians of no value.

"Then I fasted, and prayed, and walked mournfully in sorrow, and thought none was like me, tempted on every hand: so I ran to this man, and the other; and they applied promises to me; but it was only in words, for the witness of Christ showed me that the root of iniquity stood, and that the body of sin was whole: and, notwithstanding I was kept from gross evils, still sorrow compassed me about,

and I questioned all that ever I had had, which they said was grace, repentance, and faith.

"Then I told them there was guilt in me; and they said sin was taken away by Christ, but the guilt should still remain while I lived, and brought me the saints' conditions who were in the warfare, to confirm it. So I said in myself this was a miserable salvation, that the guilt and condemnation of sin should still stand in me.

"Thus I was tossed from mountain to hill, and heard them preach confusion; and therefore I mattered not for them, and said, surely this is not the ministry of Christ! So I ceased long by fits, and did not mind them; but kept still at home and in desert places, solitary, in weeping. Every thing I had done was laid before me, insomuch, that every thought was judged; and I was tender, and my heart broken: and when I could sorrow most I had most peace; for something spake within me from the Lord; but I knew Him not then. And they said, that it was heresy to look for the word of the Lord to be spoken now in these days, but only in the letter; so I regarded it not much; yet often I was made to do many righteous things, by the immediate power and Word of God; and then peace and joy sprang up in me, and promises were spoken, that He would teach me Himself and be my God. And often I obeyed contrary to my will, and denied my will: but they told me this was legal to obey out of fear, and that it was slavery; but that there was an evangelical obedience. So I got above fear, and yet acted the former things, which they called ordinances; and they said that was sonlike obedience, and Christ had done all.

"Then there appeared more beauty in those called Independents; and I loved them, and so joined myself to them: and all the money I

could get I purchased books with; and I walked with and owned the Independents as more separate from the world; and they pressed separation: but at the last I saw it was only in words, that they would choose officers and members of themselves; and so made an image and fell down and worshiped it. Yet there was some tenderness in them at the first; but the doctrine was the same with the world's, words without, of others conditions.

"Then they whom they called Anabaptists appeared to have more glory, and to walk more according to the Scripture, observing things written without: and I went among them; and there was something I loved among them. But afterwards, they denied all but such as came into their way, as out of the fellowship of the saints, and doctrine of Christ. And I saw the ground was the same; and their doctrine out of the life, with the rest of the teachers of the world; and that they had separated themselves, and made another likeness. But still all said the letter was the word and rule; and Christ at a distance, without, had done all. Some of them holding free-will, others opposing, and all in their own will.

"Still I loved them that walked honestly amongst all these. But though I had seen and owned all that I had heard, except the figure, which I saw was outward; and that was their greatest glory, and I saw that they would have all fall down to it, else no communion; yet I found no peace, nor guide. Then some preached the doctrine of free grace, as they called it, that all sin was done away, past, present, and to come; that only believing in this doctrine and all is finished; and so preached salvation to the first nature, and to the serpent that bore rule. To this I hearkened a little, and so lost my condition

within. But still whithersoever I went, this was spoken in me: "His servant thou art whom thou obeyest;" and so being overcome by sin, I had no justification witnessed in me, but condemnation.

"Then some preached Christ within, but they themselves were without; but yet they said, all must be within, unto which my soul did cleave. And they spoke of redemption and justification, and all within; and of God appearing in man, and overcoming the power of the devil: and the Light in my conscience, bore witness that it must be so; and I was exceedingly pressed, to wait and find it so; and something in me breathed after the Living God. And I had a true love to all that walked honestly of what profession soever; and I hated reviling one another, and that they should smite one another, and persecute one another: and I always took part with the sufferer. But still I saw, that though they spoke of things within, and of a power to come, they enjoyed not what they spoke of; for the same fruits were brought forth.

"At last I saw, that none walked as the ministers of Christ: none that pretended to the ministry had any such gift, neither pastor, nor teacher; nor were any of them such members as were in the apostles' time.

"So having passed up and down, hurried here and there, I saw that all the teachers of the world sought themselves, and fed poor people with dead names and deceit; and that they were not the ministers of Christ. I saw them all in deceit, who did not abide in Christ's doctrine; and I got myself quit of most of them, for, ever as I dissented from their judgment, they hated and persecuted me.

"Now it was revealed in me, that the Lord

would teach his people himself: so I waited; and many things opened in me of a time at hand. And sometimes I would have heard a priest; but when I heard him, I was moved by the Lord, and his word in me spoke to oppose: and often as a fire it burned, and a trembling fell upon me; yet I feared reproach, and so denied the Lord's motion. And it was revealed in me to wait, and I should know his counsel.

"And the word of the Lord was in me, that the time was at hand, when the dead should hear the voice of the Son of God. And it burned in me as a fire, that the day was near, when it should not be said, "lo here, nor there;" but all the Lord's people should be taught of Him. But still my mind ran out: and out of the fear into carelessness; for I knew not the cross of Christ. And yet, I say, I was wiser than the teachers that I met with in that generation. I do not glory in it, for condemnation is passed on it all for ever. Yet still, I had ever, as my mind was turned to the Light, pure openings, and prophecies of things to come: and a belief that I should see the day, and bear witness to his Name. And so when things opened so fast, the wisdom of the flesh caught them; and I went up and down, preaching against all the ministry: and I also run out with that, which was revealed in myself; and preached up and down the country, of the fulness that was in the old bottle; and so was wondered after, and admired by many, who had waded up and down as myself had: and we fed one another with words; and healed up one another in deceit; and all laid down in sorrow, when the day of the Lord was made manifest. For I was overthrown, and my foundation swept away; and all my righteousness and unrighteousness were judged, and weighed, and found too light.

"As soon as I heard one declare, that the Light of Christ in man, is the way to Christ, I believed the eternal word of truth; and the light of God in my conscience sealed to it. So not only I, but many hundreds more, who thirsted after the Lord, but were betrayed by the wisdom of the serpent, were all seen to be off the foundation; and all our mouths were stopped in the dust; and we all stood condemned in ourselves, and saw our nakedness, and were ashamed; though our glory was great in the eye of the world: but all was vanity.

"As I turned my mind within, to the light of Jesus Christ, with which I was enlightened, which formerly reproved me for all vanity, and also as I owned it led me into all righteousness, I saw it was the true and faithful witness of Christ Jesus; and then my eyes were opened; and all things were brought to remembrance, that ever I had done; and the dreadful day of the Lord fell upon me: sorrow and pain; fear and terror, for the sight that I saw with mine eyes. In the morning I wished it had been evening, and in the evening I wished it had been morning: and I had no rest, but trouble on every side. All that ever I had done was judged and condemned; and all things were accursed. Then the lion suffered hunger. Mine eyes were dim with crying; my flesh failed of fatness; my bones were dried, and my sinews shrank. I became a proverb to all; yea, to those who had been my acquaintance; they stood afar off me: the pillars of heaven were shaken; one wo poured out after another. I sought death in that day, and could not find it; it fled from me. I sought to cover myself any way, or with any thing, but could not; and Babylon, the mother of harlots,

came into remembrance that day; and the sea dried up, and all the merchants that traded with her stood afar off, for the cup of fury was poured forth. I would have run any where to have hid myself; but there was nothing but weeping, and gnashing of teeth, and sorrow, and terror. I roared out for the disquietness of my heart; and the kingdom was full of darkness. I knew not the right hand from the left: I became a perfect fool, and knew nothing; and as a man distracted. All was overturned; I suffered loss of all. All that ever I did, I saw was in the accursed nature. Then something in me cried, "just and true is His judgment." My mouth was stopped; I durst not make mention of His name. But as I bore the indignation of the Lord, something in me rejoiced: the serpent's head began to be bruised; and as the judgment was pronounced, something cried, "just art thou O Lord, in all thy judgment!" And as I gave up all to the judgment, the captive came forth out of prison, and rejoiced: my heart was filled with joy; and I came to see Him whom I had pierced: my heart was broken. Then I saw the cross of Christ, and stood by it; and the enmity was slain by it: the new man was made; and so peace came to be made; and eternal life was brought in, through death and judgment. Then I received the perfect gift, which was given from God: and the holy law of God was revealed unto me; and was written in my heart: and His fear, and His word, which did kill, now made alive.

"Thus it pleased the Father to reveal his Son in me through death; and so I came to witness cleansing by his blood, which is eternal. Glory unto his name for ever! And I have rest and

peace in doing the will of God; and am entered into the true rest, and lay down in the fold of God, with the lambs of God, where the sons of God rejoice together, and the saints keep holy days. Glory unto Him for ever!"

CHAPTER II.

An account of Francis Howgill's convincement, by the preaching of George Fox; and of his imprisonment with James Nayler.

It appears that the great change just alluded to, took place in Francis Howgill's mind, in the year 1652. He was at a fair, at Sedburgh, in the west of Yorkshire, through which, George Fox passed, declaring the day of the Lord. George Fox went afterwards into the steeple-house yard; and many of the people of the fair went to him, with a number of priests, and professors of religion. There he declared the everlasting truth of the Lord, and the word of life for several hours: showing that the Lord was come, to teach his people himself; and to bring them off from all the world's ways, and teachers; that these teachers were like those that were of old, condemned by the prophets, by Christ, and by the apostles. He exhorted the people to come off from the temples made with hands; and to wait to receive the Spirit of the Lord, that they might know themselves to be the temples of God. Not one of the priests opened his mouth against what he declared; but a captain said: "Why will you not go into the Church? this is not a fit place to preach in?" George Fox told him, he denied their church. Then stood up Francis Howgill, who had not seen George Fox before, and undertook to answer the captain; and soon put him to silence, and said: "this man speaks with authority and not as the scribes."

The following account of the remarkable meeting, at which, Francis Howgill, John Aud-

land, John Camm, Richard Hubberthorne, and many others were convinced of the everlasting truth, is extracted from George Fox's journal, page 68.

"The next First-day, I came to Firbank chapel, in Westmoreland, where Francis Howgill and John Audland, had been preaching in the morning. The chapel was full of people, so that many could not get in. Francis said, he thought I looked into the chapel, and his spirit was ready to fail, the Lord's power did so surprize him; but I did not look in. They made haste, and had quickly done; and they, and some of the people went to dinner; but abundance staid till they came again. John Blaikling and others came to me, and desired me not to reprove them publicly; for they were not parish teachers, but pretty tender men. I could not tell them, whether I should or no, though I had not at that time, any drawings to declare publicly against them; but I said they must leave me to the Lord's movings.

"While others were gone to dinner, I went to a brook, got a little water, and then came and sat down on the top of a rock, hard by the chapel. In the afternoon the people gathered about me, with several of their preachers. It was judged there were above a thousand people, to whom I declared God's everlasting truth, and word of life, freely and largely, for about the space of three hours, directing all to the Spirit of God in themselves; that they might be turned from darkness to light, and believe in it; that they might become children of it, and might be led into all truth, and sensibly understand the words of the prophets, of Christ, and of the apostles: and might all come to know Christ to be their teacher to instruct them, their counsellor to direct them, their shepherd to feed them, their

bishop to oversee them, and their prophet to open divine mysteries to them; and might know their bodies to be prepared, sanctified, and made fit temples for God and Christ to dwell in.

"In the openings of heavenly life, I explained unto them the prophets, and the figures and shadows, and directed them to Christ the substance. Then I opened the parables and sayings of Christ, and things that had long been hid; showing the intent, and scope of the writings of the apostles. I showed also the state of the apostacy, since the apostles' days; that the priests have got the Scriptures, but are not in the Spirit which gave them forth: but make a trade of holy men's words; and are found in the steps of the false prophets, chief priests, scribes, and pharisees of old, and are such as the true prophets, Christ, and his apostles cried out against. Many old people went into the chapel, and looked out at the windows; thinking it a strange thing to see a man preach on a hill or mountain, and not in their church, as they called it; whereupon I was moved to inform the people, that the steeple-house and ground whereon it stood, were no more holy than that mountain; and that those temples, which they called the dreadful houses of God, were not set up by the command of God and Christ; nor their priests called of God, as Aaron's priesthood was; nor their tithes appointed by God, as those among the Jews were: but that Christ was come, who ended both the Temple and the worship, and the priests, and their tithes; and all should now hearken to Him, for he said, "Learn of Me:" and God said of Him, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased, hear ye Him." I declared that the Lord God had sent me, to preach the everlasting gospel, and word of life amongst them;

and to bring them off from all these temples, tithes, priests, and rudiments of the world, which had got up since the apostles' days; and had been set up by such, as had erred from the spirit and power that the apostles were in. Very largely was I opened at this meeting; the Lord's convincing power accompanied my ministry, and reached home to the hearts of the people; whereby all the teachers of that congregation, who were many, and also a number of the people, were convinced of God's everlasting truth."

In a testimony respecting Francis Howgill, by George Fox, he states him to have been, "one of the Lord's worthies, that preached His everlasting word of life, from about the year 1652, until the year 1668. That, he had great acquaintance with the higher sort of priests; and after he had received the Lord's power, and word of life, he was a torment to them. And he confessed to some of the priests, that the knowledge of God and his truth, he knew no more of whilst he was amongst them, as to the inward enjoyment of it, than a child of five years old." "When John Audland and he, who had received some money for preaching, at a parish called Colton, in Furnace Fells, in Lancashire, had received the gospel freely, and the word of life from Christ, they were commanded of the Lord, to go and return that money back again, to the parish and people, from whom they had received it; which they did: and this made the priests, and the professors, the more to rage."

"As the Son of God came to be revealed in him, he began to know his command; and powerfully and freely to preach Him, and his word of life. John Audland and he, all the days of their lives, after their convincement, preached

Christ Jesus freely, as they had received Him, and turned many to God." But, "no sooner was his mouth opened, than the priests, magistrates, and professors, began to rage against him, and to be offended at the word of God, and the gospel."

Francis Howgill was one of the friends alluded to, in H. Tuke's Biographical Notices, vol. 2 page 69, who with James Nayler, designed to have held a religious meeting, at Orton, in Westmoreland, in the year 1652. "The priests invited them to hold a meeting in the town field, and they accepted the offer, seeing that a private house was not sufficient to accommodate the numbers collected. Here the priests began to dispute, on the propriety of meeting there, and collecting so many people together to break the peace. Much wrangling succeeded; after which, James returned to the house of one of his friends, where the meeting was held, though with much disturbance from rude people, who were collected for the purpose of mischief; no material injury was, however, sustained; and that evening, James left the place, and thus, for the present, escaped the fury of his enemies.

The priests in this country, appear to have been uncommonly violent and cruel. Not content with preaching against Nayler, and imputing to him blasphemy, with many other false accusations, they raised an armed multitude, who came to the house where he was, threatening to knock out his brains against the wall, or to pull down the house if he would not come out; and when they were told that the doors were open, the people informing the priests, they rushed violently into the house, seized James Nayler by the throat, dragged him into the field, and afterwards, with a pitch fork, struck

off his hat, commanding him to answer such questions, as the priests should ask him. They put many questions to him, which he answered so well, that they could not take any advantage from them to prosecute him. After much wrangling, one of the priests advised the people, not to receive James Nayler into their houses, and then departed, leaving him and his friends to the violence of the rude multitude. But a justice of the peace who was present, seeing the dangerous situation in which Friends were placed, kindly assisted them in returning to the house from whence they came, which they entered without receiving much harm.

On this occasion, James was publicly engaged to praise the Lord, for the wonderful deliverance from the power of his enemies, which some of them hearing, said, "if we let him go on thus, all people will run after him." He was therefore, again hailed out of the house, taken by the justice and priests to a neighbouring ale-house, and thence committed to Appleby jail.

He was taken to Kirby Stephen that night; and a guard placed over him in a chamber. Several of his friends followed him, and amongst them Francis Howgill, who took an opportunity of preaching to the people, who were collected in the street to a great number. Complaint of his preaching being made, he was sent for before a justice, who commanded him to put off his hat. He answered, "I know no such law." One of the priests, five of whom were present, said, he will tread both ministry and magistracy under foot. Francis replied, "thou art a false accuser, prove wherein." Then one of the bystanders took off his hat, and threw it into the fire. Then said the justice, "What is this thou speakest against the ministers?" He answered, "What hast thou to accuse me of?" whereupon

Christ Jesus freely, [illegible] ministers that and turned many [illegible] houses, were was his mouth [illegible] Christ, and no trates, and [illegible] that the justice and to be [illegible] the law, for the gospel." He replied, Franc[illegible] with the law, but with their alluded [illegible] said to the priest, vol. 2 [illegible] a minister of Christ that signe[illegible] or did labour to imprison Orte[illegible] some more discourse, he said "T[illegible] I have seen a great deal of th[illegible] in this day's actions." s[illegible] the justice to the people, "Take notice, he saith the law I act by is tyranny and persecution:" to which the people assented. Then said Francis, "thou mayst give out to the people what thou wilt, but I speak not of the law, but of your actions." Upon that they made out a mittimus to send him to prison, placing over him a guard of eight men, who spent that night in drinking, swearing, and filthy talking; and the more they were reproved the more often they repeated their wickedness. On the morrow he was sent to Appleby jail, along with James Nayler.

Whilst these innocent sufferers were in prison, their enemies were busily employed, in obtaining all the accusations they could against them; and at the sessions held at Appleby, in the month called January, 1652, James Nayler was tried on an indictment for blasphemy. This charge was occasioned by the doctrine preached, and particularly insisted on, by our early Friends, that of the light of Christ universally communicated to the human race. This they termed, with the apostle of the gentiles, "Christ in you the hope of glory;" and further illustrated by an exhortation of the same apostle:

"Prove yourselves; know ye not your own-selves, how that Jesus Christ is in you, except ye be reprobates."

This doctrine, the enemies of the Society, endeavoured to convert into a blasphemous application of Christ to themselves; but, notwithstanding the strenuous endeavours of some of the justices, the charge could not be substantiated; and Anthony Pearson, who then sat on the bench, was convinced by the examination of James Nayler. Benson was another of the justices, and was fully sensible of the insufficiency of the evidence to prove the charge of blasphemy; but notwithstanding the evident innocence of the prisoner, two other justices were so violent as to commit him upon the petition of the priests, though at the hazard of being fined by the judges at the assizes. It was therefore ordered that James Nayler and Francis Howgill should remain in prison, where they were arbitarily confined about five months and then discharged."*

After Francis Howgill was set at liberty, he grew valiant and bold for the name of the Lord; and travelled up and down on foot preaching the everlasting Gospel; and went to many steeple-houses, to warn both priests and people of the day of the Lord that was coming upon them; directing them to Christ Jesus, their Teacher and Saviour.

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* For particulars of James Nayler's life, see Sewell's History of Friends, Tuke's Biographical Notices, vol. 2. page 67 to 92, and a refutation of some of the more modern misrepresentations of the Society of Friends, commonly called Quakers, with a life of James Nayler, by Joseph Gurney Bevan.

CHAPTER III.

F. Howgill visits London in company with Edward Burrough and Anthony Pearson. Account of the first meetings of Friends in London. They are joined by John Audland, John Camm, and Richard Hubberthorne. F. Howgill and E. Burrough remain in London after their companions leave that city.

In the spring of 1654, Francis Howgill went to London in company with Edward Burrough, and Anthony Pearson the justice before mentioned, but who had now become a preacher of the truth as it is in Christ Jesus. They are said to have been the first, who publicly preached the doctrines of Friends in London.

A meeting was appointed at the request of F. Howgill, who had written by post from York on that account. It was held on a first-day, at the house of Robert Dring, in a close yard in Watling-street. Before F. Howgill and A. Pearson arrived, a great many people were assembled, whom the former addressed. As soon as he ceased many wild people came in, who made a great noise. They went to Simon Dring's, in Moorfields in the afternoon, where they met many people of honest, simple hearts, to whose conditions they were much drawn forth to minister, and who received them gladly. Edward Burrough is said to have been that day, at an assembly of a separate society.

Previously, however, to the arrival of these labourers in the Gospel, the workings of the power of truth were felt by some tender hearted people in and about London; and a few were convinced and turned to the Lord. Two women who came out of the north, viz. Isabel Buttry and her companion, became acquainted with

Simon Dring of Moorfields, and Amos Stodart who had been a captain in the parliament's army, but having been convinced of the truth had left his military calling. These women having in their possession, printed copies of an Epistle addressed by George Fox, "to all that would know the way to the kingdom, whether they be in forms, without forms, or got above forms," to direct people to turn the attention of their minds within, where the voice of God is to be heard, dispersed them amongst such as would receive them; and walking in company with Amos and Simon in the fields towards Stepney, they were overtaken by Ruth Brown, who was then about sixteen years of age, and who afterwards became the wife of William Crouch. Isabel Buttry looked steadfastly on her, and gave her one of the epistles, on reading which she was convinced of the truth, and added to the small number who believed. After this they, with Anne Downer, who afterwards married George Whitehead, held private meetings at Robert Dring's house, in Watling-street, and at Simon Dring's in Moorfields, in which Isabel Buttry sometimes spoke a few words; but Anne Downer is said to have been the first woman of this society, who preached publicly in London.

On the first-day week after the arrival of Francis Howgill and his companions, they appointed another meeting in Moorfields, for those only who appeared to be simple hearted, and who had been much borne down by the violence of the people amongst whom they were mixed, before the coming of these friends. But to this meeting came many wild spirited people; and after Anthony Pearson had said a few words, a ranter stood up and spoke until Francis Howgill was grieved in spirit, and he, under a sense of the power of God, stopped

him : after which Anthony and he spoke again. Then several men and women fell down on the ground, in a ranting spirit, and confessed that their ministry was of God ; but F. Howgill and his friends denied them and declared against them, so that the simple hearted ones were much comforted and strengthened.

The next first-day, they had another public meeting in Watling Street ; but before they got there a ranter spoke, and another opposed him, and there was a great contest, so that the people were much troubled. At length, under a sense of the power of the Lord, Francis Howgill stood up and spoke ; and all the others were silent. The mouths of his fellow labourers were afterwards opened in great power, so that many owned their ministry. In the afternoon many more came and there was strong opposition ; but Francis and his companions, after speaking to them for about two hours, withdrew, and were followed into another room by the honest hearted, whom they addressed ; being much concerned to get them separated from amongst the mixed multitude.

In a short time, John Audland, John Camm, and Richard Hubberthorne, arrived in London and took part in the labours of the day.

Francis Howgill informs us, that one day Edward Burrough and Richard Hubberthorne were at a place in the City, called the Glass House, which was a great meeting place of the Baptists ; and that after Edward Burrough had spoken, Richard Hubberthorne stood up and addressed the assembly ; but presently they shut him out and bolted the door. Edward remained silent within, till another person had spoken, and then he said a few words ; but they stopped him, and after a little dispute he left them. The same day, John Camm was with a people

who had been called Lockers, whose hireling teacher had left them; and had afterwards been promoted. Richard Hubberthorne went to him from the Baptists, and they had liberty to speak for a good while and cleared their consciences. Francis Howgill, with Anthony Pearson, were the same day at a meeting of a people called Waiters, in Cheapside; where a man was speaking when they went in, who soon ceased on seeing them. Here the former spoke three quarters of an hour; and one Colonel Rich then confessed that the Light was the guide, but said that it led into innocency, and that he looked for a greater which would lead into glory. This was not satisfactory to them, therefore Anthony Pearson said a few words on the subject; after which Francis again addressed them; and Edward Burrough coming in also spoke a few words; after which they parted with the people in much love.

On the sixth day following, they appointed a meeting for those who were convinced: and on first day, Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough had a meeting at a large place called Ely-house, the governor of which began to speak, but soon ceasing, another person, a ranter, stood up in a pulpit and spoke a while; so that they saw they were in danger of losing the opportunity, Edward Burrough therefore stood up and addressed the meeting, the people being very attentive. After he had finished, the ranter spoke again; and Francis, under a sense of the power of the Lord, then stood up and addressed them: upon which the ranter and the rest of the people were silent for nearly an hour longer: after which, the ranter said the people could not but witness that he spoke to their consciences as well as Francis and his companion; but the people, with one consent, said he did

not, and were very loving to them: but the governor, perceiving that, in the eyes of the people, his honour and that of the ranter were gone, refused to let them have a meeting there in the afternoon; so they appointed one in Watling Street. The same day, John Camm went to a great meeting of a society who were translating the Scriptures anew, and were judging of them by their own reason. At mid-day they all met again; and Richard Hubberthorne went to Friends' meeting, and Anthony Pearson and Francis Howgill to that of the Bible people, and there they spoke a little; but except they would dispute and be tried by the Scriptures, they would not hear them; they therefore consented, and were furnished with wisdom, so that they soon confounded their opponents.

Passing from them they were joined by Richard Hubberthorne, and went to Edward Burrough who was at a steeple-house in Lombard Street, which most of the high notionists in the City frequented. They got to him before the priest had done; and after he had ceased, Edward stood up on a seat and addressed the people for about an hour, with a loud voice, and in much power; they being very still and calm. When he had finished, Francis also addressed them; and they cleared their consciences and went away. The same afternoon, John Camm was at a meeting of Baptists, where he had an opportunity of preaching the Truth to them. In the evening they all met again; and closed the day in peace, in their Heavenly Father's love.

After a short time, Anthony Pearson went into the county of Durham; and John Audland, John Camm, and Richard Hubberthorne into Oxfordshire; but Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough still remained in London, labouring

diligently; having three or more meetings every week, larger than could be contained in any place they could conveniently obtain for the purpose.

One fourth-day, they had a meeting in Southwark, in a large room where the Anabaptists met on first-days; several of whom, with many hundreds of people attended. The Anabaptists, after it, fell out about them: those who heard them pleaded for them, whilst others who were absent were offended, and blamed those who gave them liberty to use the room; and one of the Anabaptist teacher's who had been in the north, brought many false reports respecting Friends, which those who were at the meeting, would not give credit to. This occasioned many of the Anabaptist congregation to secede, which made the others greatly afraid of Friends.

The ministerial labours of these devoted servants of the Lord were blessed with signal success; being attended with a convincing power, impressing awful considerations, and awakening the consciences of the audience to a sense of their conditions, and to earnest desires after salvation. Being prepared for the work of the ministry, by the previous work of inward sanctification, and believing themselves "called of God as was Aaron," to that arduous undertaking, they were eminently qualified for the service in which they were engaged; not only possessing a sound understanding and a sufficient share of literature, but the superior qualification of that experience of the quickening power of inward religion, which they endeavoured to recommend and propagate; a religion not amusing the head in curious speculations, but purifying the heart, and cleansing the conscience from dead works, to serve the Lord in newness of life.

CHAPTER IV.

F. Howgill and E. Burrough visit Bristol—are examined by the magistrates, and discharged—after which a warrant is issued to apprehend them and others as Franciscans.

In the autumn of this year, 1654, Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough left London for Bristol, after having a meeting with many of their friends who came to take leave of them. In this meeting they commended their friends to the Lord, to whom they had directed them; and charged them to meet together. It was a time of great brokenness of heart; the tendering power of God being witnessed amongst them, so that the recollection of it often raised the hearts of many of them in thankfulness and praise to God.

On the first-day after the arrival of Howgill and Burrough in Bristol, they had a meeting in the castle, at which were many hundreds of people. After it was over they went out, hoping to get away from the multitude; but the people followed them along the streets to the house of a captain, which was filled with them till late in the evening. Every day in the week these friends had meetings in or about the city; and on the first-day following, they had one in the house of one captain Bishop; probably George Bishop who became convinced of the Truth, and suffered imprisonment for it. The rooms in this house were large, but not sufficiently so for the meetings; and therefore they went in the afternoon to a place called the fort, where about two thousand persons were assembled; amongst whom were many great men and

women. All the people were very still, though Howgill and Burrough could scarcely raise their voices so as to be heard by the most distant; and the people were so unwilling to leave them, that they were obliged to go into the house of a captain, and hide themselves in a private chamber.

These things were noised through the city, and the priests and magistrates were soon in an uproar, seeking to find something against these labourers in the Gospel. Two priests went to hear them in order to entrap them, but were disappointed. On the second-day of the week they went into the city; to the house of a merchant; and the mayor, aldermen, justices of the peace, and priests assembled in the hall; and sent a sergeant to desire them to come to the council, whither they went freely, many captains and great men of the city accompanying them. When they reached the place, a great concourse of people was gathered together; they were therefore taken into an inner chamber, into which many persons of respectability who were kindly disposed to them went, but were not permitted to stay; whilst their opposers were freely admitted. Howgill and Burrough informed the magistrates, that they were come thither according to their request; and the magistrates then queried of them, if they knew to whom they spoke. They answered, that they believed they were before the magistrates or rulers of the city. The magistrates were displeased, that they neither bowed to them, nor put off their hats; but they informed them, that they did not omit doing so in contempt of authority, but for conscience' sake.

The magistrates then asked of them their names and country, which they declared to them; telling them also, that they had been in London about a quarter of a year. The magis-

trates next inquired respecting their coming to Bristol, to which they answered, that they had the commandment and motion of the Lord, to bear witness to his Name, and to declare the Gospel committed to them. The priests then began to ask them questions; but they refused to answer any persons except the magistrates, to whom they signified their readiness to answer. These then enquired whether their call was mediate or immediate; to which they replied, immediate. They were then desired if they had an immediate call to declare it; Francis therefore told them what he had been, and what he then was, and informed them that he, and his companion had witnessed the same call, which Abraham had to leave his country and his habitation; and had left their habitations at the command of God.

The magistrates hearkened to him quietly for about a quarter of an hour. They then queried if the friends could work miracles: they answered, that they should not boast of those things; but on being urged, they stated, that many persons could bear witness, that by their ministry many had been turned from darkness to Light, and from Satan to God. The priests then enquired whether they accused all the ministers in England; and they told them, that there were many ministers of Christ in England, and with them they had unity; but all hirelings, and those who sought their gain from their quarter they denied. The priests pleaded for hire, and said, that Francis and Edward dishonoured the Gospel; that the Light was natural; and that every one had it not, which was contradictory to their own declaration that it was natural. After much striving and contending, when they found that they could not ensnare the prisoners, they consulted together and said, that the friends had held tumultuous

meetings; to which one of their own number answered, that there were many godly, honest people met, and without tumult.

When the magistrates could find nothing against them, they commanded them to depart out of the city. To this they answered: "We came not in the will of man, nor stand in the will of man; but when He moves us to depart, who moved us to come hither, we shall obey; but your wills we cannot obey, for your will is no law. If we are guilty of the transgression of any law, let us suffer by it; but rather than we will transgress the righteous law of God, written in our hearts, by subjecting ourselves to your wills and lusts, we shall choose to walk in the law of God, and to suffer under your wills what you can lay upon us. We are free born Englishmen, and have served the Commonwealth in faithfulness, being free in the presence of God from the transgression of any law. To your commands we cannot be obedient; but if by violence you put us out of the city, and have power to do it, we cannot resist." Having said this they went out of the court, but tarried in the city till night; and the next day returned and walked in the streets.

After this, they had several very large meetings; it being supposed that there were at one of them, about three thousand persons. They staid about seven weeks in and about Bristol, labouring diligently; and many received the Truth which they preached. For the last three weeks of their stay, they had the company and joint labours of John Audland and John Camm, who had also been there before them, and whom they left in this extensive field of labour. Some time after they left Bristol, the magistrates issued the following warrant to the constables of each ward of that city, under

pretension of an information, the absurdity of which must appear to every unprejudiced reader, as the parties named in it were well known to be natives of England. But the spirit of persecution which raged in those days, seemed so blind that nothing, however improbable or foolish, if it could be turned to the disadvantage of this harmless, but dispised people, was thought too low to be pressed into service against them, by many of those who ought to have been a terror to evil doers, and a praise to them who do well.

"City of Bristol.

"To the constables of the peace of the ward of ———, and every of them.

"Forasmuch as information hath been given unto us upon oath, that certain persons of the Franciscan order in Rome, have of late come over into England, and under the notion of Quakers, drawn together several multitudes of people in London. And whereas, certain strangers going under the names of John Camm, John Audland, George Fox, James Nayler, and Edward Burrough, and others unknown, have lately resorted to this city, and in like manner, under the same notion of Quakers, drawn multitudes of people after them, and occasioned very great disturbances amongst us; and forasmuch, as by the same information, it appeareth to us to be very probable, and much to be suspected, that the said persons so lately come hither, are some of those that came from Rome, as aforesaid.—These are therefore, in the name of his Highness the Lord Protector, to will and require you to make diligent search throughout your ward for the aforesaid strangers, or any of them, and all other suspected

persons, and to apprehend or bring them before us, or some of us, to be dealt with according to law. Hereof fail not. Given the 25th of January, 1654.

"Signed, John Gunning, *Mayor*,

Gabriel Sherman,	William Gunn,
Henry Gibbs,	Joseph Jackson,
George Hellier,	John Lack,
Gabriel Sherman,	Richard Vickris."

Whilst Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough were in Bristol, twelve Baptists came out of Wiltshire to encounter them, who were put to flight; and reported on their return home, that Friends were cursers and swearers, and denied Christ and the Scriptures; so that in consequence, when, on their return toward London, Francis and Edward came to the town where they had spread the report, the people were very fierce upon them. However, they had a meeting in the market-place; on going to which, they felt themselves very low and weak: but when the people were come together, they felt the Power of the Lord so to arise, that they spoke for two hours irresistibly, and cleared the Truth. Two of the Baptists then spoke, and they disputed with them for four hours, at the expiration of which they parted; the Baptists laying aside their boasting. A justice of the peace who was present on this occasion, declared that he never heard any who spake like Howgill and Burrough, and invited them to his house, to which they went the following day. The mayor of the town went to them in the evening, and confessed that they spoke the Truth; and that, if he should not witness to it, his conscience would witness against him. They had many meetings in this county; and amongst those

who were convinced of the Truths they taught, were a justice of the peace and his wife, of the name of Stookes, who desired them to go to their house, where they had a large meeting, and staid two days; after which, they set out for London: the justice kindly sending his man and horses with them, fifteen miles on their journey.

CHAPTER V.

F. Howgill and E. Burrough return to London—several meetings established. Francis visits Oliver Cromwell in company with John Camm; and afterwards writes to him—He joins E. Burrough in Suffolk—they go to James Parnel at Cambridge, and visit the Isle of Ely and Norfolk—return to London.

On the return of Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough to London, they saw the fruit of their labour in that city, and rejoiced: for the mighty power of God had so manifested itself, that many mouths were opened to bear testimony to the Truth, and several meetings were established; and those who continued in their doctrine were more separated from the multitude. A meeting was held for some time at the house of a widow, named Sarah Matthews, in White-Cross Street, on first-day forenoons; and one at Simon Dring's, in Moorfields, in the afternoons; and sometimes at Glazier's Hall, at the house of Sarah Yates, a widow, in a Court in Aldersgate-Street.

They continued some weeks in London labouring diligently, not only amongst those who were thus gathered from such as cried: "Lo! here is Christ," and "Lo! He is there," to the knowledge of his clear arising in themselves, as the lightening coming out of the east, and shining unto the west; and to the witnessing of his Spirit abiding in them, and giving them strength to overcome sin; but they had also many public meetings, at which numbers were convinced. During their stay in the city, they were joined by George Fox, Richard Hubber-

thorne, James Nayler, and some other labourers in the same cause.

About the beginning of the year 1655, Francis Howgill went with John Camm to visit Oliver Cromwell, in order to warn him, and to deliver some papers addressed to him by some friends, expostulating with him respecting several laws, which were at that time so rigourously put in force against friends, that many of their ministers and others were suffering imprisonment under them. In a letter to Margaret Fell on this occasion, Francis says of the Protector: "He is full of subtilty and deceit; and will speak fair; but hardens his heart and acts secretly underneath." Soon after this visit he addressed the following letter to Cromwell:

"Friend,

"I was moved of the Lord to come to thee, to declare the Word of the Lord, as I was moved of the Lord, and to deal plainly with thee as I was commanded, and not to petition thee for any thing; but to declare what the Lord had revealed to me concerning thee: and when I had delivered what I was commanded, thou questionedst it, whether it was the Word of the Lord or not, and soughtest, by thy reason, to put it off; and we have waited some days since, but cannot speak to thee; therefore, I was moved to write to thee and clear my conscience, and to leave thee. Therefore hear the Word of the Lord: thus saith the Lord, I chose thee out of all the nation, when thou wast little in thy own eyes, and threw down the mountains and the powers of the earth before thee, which had established wickedness by a law; and I cut them down, and broke the yokes and bonds of the oppressor, and made them stoop before thee, and made them as a plain before thee, that thou

passedst over them, and trode upon their necks: but, thus saith the Lord, Now thy heart is not upright before Me, but thou takest counsel and not at Me; and thou art establishing peace, and not by Me; and my Name is not feared, and I am not sought after: but thy own wisdom thou establishest. "What," saith the Lord, "Have I thrown down all the oppressors, and broken their laws, and art thou now going to establish them again! and art going to build again, that which I have destroyed?" Wherefore, thus saith the Lord: "Wilt thou limit Me, and set bounds to Me, when, and where, and how, and by whom I shall declare myself and publish my Name? Then will I break thy cord, and remove thy stake, and exalt myself in thy overthrow."

Therefore, this is the Word of the Lord to thee, whether thou wilt hear or forbear: "If thou take not away all those laws which are made concerning religion, whereby the people which are dear in mine eyes are oppressed, thou shalt not be established; but as thou hast trodden down my enemies by my power, so shalt thou be trodden down by my power; and thou shalt know that I am the Lord; for my Gospel shall not be established by thy sword, nor by thy law; but by my might, and by my power, and by my Spirit. Unto thee, this is the Word of the Lord; stint not the Eternal Spirit, by which I will publish my Name, when, and where, and how I will; for if thou dost, thou shalt be as dust before the wind: the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it, and He will perform his promise. For this is what I look for at thy hands, saith the Lord: that thou shouldest undo the heavy burdens, and let the oppressed go free. Are not many shut up in prison, and some stocked, some stoned, and some shamefully intreated? and some are judged blasphemers, by those who

know not the Lord, and by those laws which have been made by the will of man, and stand not in the will of God. And some suffer now, because they cannot hold up the types, and so deny Christ come in the flesh; and some have been shut up in prison because they could not swear, and because they abide in the doctrine of Christ; and some for declaring against sin openly in markets, have suffered as evil-doers: and now if thou let them suffer in this nature, and by those laws, and count it just, I will visit for these things, saith the Lord; and I will break the yoke from off their necks, and I will bring deliverance another way, and thou shalt know that I am the Lord."

William Sewell, in his History of the people called Quakers, says in reference to this letter: "How this was received I am not acquainted; but this I have understood, that some of Cromwell's servants, and amongst these one Theophilus Green, and also Mary, afterwards wife of Henry Stout, were so reached by F. Howgill's discourse, that some time after they entered into the society of the Quakers, so called."

In the second month of this year, Edward Burrough went to Edmund's Bury, where F. Howgill joined him; and they went from thence into the Isle of Ely, at the time of the assizes, and had a very precious meeting.

The Baptists at Cambridge had challenged James Parnel to a dispute; these friends therefore returned with him to Cambridge on the day appointed. The Baptists had fixed on a steeple house to dispute in; but when they went down, they found themselves shut out. The town and scholars were in an uproar; and when the Baptists perceived that Francis and Edward were there, they were unwilling to meddle. Howgill and Burrough were so thronged, that

they conceived they were in danger from the multitude, who were very rude; and therefore made their way to the house of justice Blackley. The Baptists then perceiving the people to be on their part, ran up to the shire-house, and James Parnel went after them: when the multitude were appeased, Francis and Edward also went up. The Baptists then asked James a question, to which he did not give them such an answer as they wished for; they therefore went away, and desired the people not to let Friends stay after them. In a short time, Francis and his companions went to the house of a Friend in the town; to which they sent for their brethren and a number of others, and had a meeting that evening with them. The next day, they went to a place where they had two meetings in a yard, at which many persons were convinced; amongst whom were some who had been unruly.

On the following first-day, they had another meeting in the Isle of Ely, at which there were about seven hundred people; to this one Col. Russel, whose son had married Cromwell's daughter, sent two priests, one of whom was an Independent; but they were both confounded, and returned to Russel, and told him, that the Quakers were far before them; upon which, he wrote to desire the friends to go to his house, or send him word where they would be, and he would come to them. They readily accepted his invitation, and were kindly received. All the family came together, and they declared to them the Way of Life. The colonel's wife was much affected, and wept greatly. The next day the colonel sent to inform them, that if they would go to the house of the Independent, he would send him word and acquaint the people; they gladly received this message and went, as did also the colonel, his wife, and many of their

family, and the Independents, with many other people of the parish, and their teachers. Here they spoke powerfully as the Spirit gave utterance; and the priests being convinced of the truth of their doctrine, hung down their heads, and shame covered them; but the hearts of the people were drawn to the friends in love.

In the course of this journey, they visited the city of Norwich; in which, as well as in most of the market-towns of Norfolk and Suffolk, they had meetings.

On their return to London, they were again refreshed amongst their friends, whom they found prospering and growing in wisdom; and Howgill informs us, that "divers of them were moved to go forth in the ministry:" two young men and two young women for Barbadoes—a young scotchman for Scotland—other two young women for Wales, and two others to Oxford; and many others to preach the Gospel to the congregations they had formerly belonged to: and they were yet preserved at liberty.

CHAPTER VI.

F. Howgill visits Kent—returns to London—goes to Ireland, and joins Edward Burrough—they are banished from Ireland by Henry Cromwell.

Francis Howgill spent five weeks in Kent about this time, and had meetings every day but two. Here he was attacked with an ague, and brought near to the grave. "But," he says, "the Lord for his work's sake gave me strength, and many great meetings I had in that county; the magistrates being moderate."

He returned to London again after this visit; and so great did the desire to hear the doctrine preached by Friends become, that they frequently had about twenty meetings in a week; feeling that the labourers were few in proportion to the harvest.

After remaining a while in London, Francis Howgill believed it required of him to pay a religious visit to Ireland. Respecting his impression of duty on this occasion, it appears by a memorandum, dated the 7th day of the 4th month, that he believed himself commissioned to go to Dublin with Edward Burrough; and it was strongly impressed upon his mind that a door was opened for them, and that the living presence of the Lord would go before them, and that his righteousness would be their reward; that his everlasting blessing and eternal power would be with them; and that He would open their mouths in wisdom, in utterance and understanding; that His power would encompass them as a wall of brass; and that many should

bless them in his name, and say: "What hath God wrought!"

By a memorandum left by Edward Burrough it appears, that he also received a similar impression, on the 10th day of the 4th month, to which he submitted on the 30th of the same, not knowing whether his brother, by which it is presumed he meant F. Howgill, should go with him or not; and that he had the comforting assurance, that nothing should befall him, but what should be permitted of the Lord; and that his life should be preserved, although it was required of him to give it up freely to the keeping of Him, who called him to the great work of declaring his Word in that nation.

They spent about three months in Dublin without being disturbed, though they omitted no opportunity of declaring the doctrine of Truth; and a small meeting was settled there. After this they believed it their duty to part, and travel in different directions, Francis going to Kilkenny, Waterford, Youghall, and Cork; at each of which places, meetings were gathered, and all seemed as a plain before them. After being separated five months, he wrote to Edward Burrough, desiring him to join him in Cork, where Francis often had great liberty in public. He had often great contests with the Baptists; and many were raised up in the Lord's power, to bear witness daily against the priests, so as to become a torment to them. The governor was moderate toward him, and his family well disposed; and many officers of different descriptions went to hear him. At Bandon there was a meeting gathered, and at Kinsale also, where the governor was kindly disposed to him; and amongst those who were convinced, were some soldiers. At this place Francis had many meetings in the garrison,

which greatly enraged the priests, who informed against the officers that had received him, and rode to Dublin to procure an order to examine him. They sent him bound to Dublin in the eleventh month; but the justices to whom the order was directed sent for him to Cork, to which place he went; and they seeing into the malice of the priests set him at liberty: on which, the priests lodged an information against them also. At Cork he was again joined by Edward Burrough; and the priests obtained an order from Henry Cromwell, then Lord Deputy of Ireland, to banish them out of that nation; and a guard of soldiers was ordered to conduct them from place to place, till they were shipped off. The soldiers were kind to them, and suffered them to have meetings where they came; so that several received the Truth.

CHAPTER VII.

F. Howgill and E. Burrough meet at Bristol Fair—return to London, where, after going again into the country, Francis is imprisoned with many others, on the false charge of insurrection—being liberated, he travels into various parts of the nation. About this time he writes an account of what he foresaw respecting Friends—and, at Reading, writes a Testimony concerning E. Burrough.

After returning from Ireland, Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough separating for a while, went through many counties of England, holding numerous meetings, and met again at Bristol, at the time of the fair, where they had a meeting with about five thousand people on a first-day.

In a short time they received letters from London, by which they were informed, that some who had been convinced of the Truth there, had lent an ear to certain deluded people, and had been turned from the simplicity of the Gospel of Christ. On this occasion Edward Burrough went speedily to that city, to endeavour to prevent the spreading of the delusions by which these people had been led away. But Francis Howgill and John Audland still remained in Bristol, and from whence, after holding a few more meetings, Francis also hastened to London; where he continued with his companion for some time, labouring particularly for the restoration of those, who had fallen into the delusions before alluded to, until things were again brought into a more settled state.

Few particulars appear to be found, respecting the labours of Francis Howgill, from the latter part of the year 1656 to 1661. But he is

stated by George Fox, to have gone with him from Robert Widders's, along with Thomas Curtis, to Swarthmore, in 1660. And George Fox says, in a Testimony concerning him, that he continued in the labour of the Lord, from the time of his return from Ireland, till the year 1661; when he was imprisoned in London with many others, on suspicion of being concerned in the insurrection of the fifth Monarchy people.

Friends, notwithstanding their avowed testimony against all war and bloodshed, as utterly inconsistent with Christianity, were often charged by persons evilly disposed towards them, with being parties in any plots or disturbances which happened to occur; and, by this means, they were subjected to long and unmerited imprisonments.

Being cleared of this charge, the Friends imprisoned on this account were set at liberty. Their weapons being spiritual they sought not earthly power; but patiently endured suffering, in the hope of obtaining, by submission to the guidance of the Holy Spirit, a better inheritance, through the mercy of God, and the mediation of Jesus Christ.

After the liberation of Francis Howgill, he travelled into various parts of the nation in the work of the Lord, and turned many to God.

This being a time of hot persecution, he was concerned to give forth the following paper, which, with many other powerful exhortations of such as stood boldly for the cause of Truth, and never left the oppressed flock of its professors, tended greatly to their encouragement; for how furious soever their enemies were, these, nevertheless, continued faithful in supplications and fervent prayers to God, that He might be pleased to assist them in their upright zeal, as they aimed at no selfish end; but acting from a

true fear and reverence before Him, they durst not omit their religious assemblies. And thus, persevering in faithfulness to what they believed the Lord required of them, in process of time, when their enemies had taken such measures as they were persuaded would suppress, and ultimately extinguish the Quakers, the Almighty was pleased to overrule and confound the wicked devices of their persecutors: although in unsearchable wisdom He saw meet before that time, to permit many of his humble followers to seal their testimony with their lives, in close prisons, and under severe bodily privations.

The paper given forth by F. Howgill.

"The cogitations of my heart have been many, deep, and ponderous some months, weeks, and days, concerning this people which the Lord hath raised to bear testimony unto his name, in this the day of his power; and intercession hath been made often for them to the Lord; and a patient waiting to know his mind concerning them, for the time to come; which, often, I received satisfaction in as to myself; but yet something, I was drawn by the Lord to wait for, that I might comfort and strengthen his flock, by an assured testimony. And while I was waiting out of all visible things, and quite out of the world in my spirit, and my heart upon nothing but the Living God, the Lord opened the springs of the great deep, and overflowed my whole heart with light and love; and my eyes were as a fountain, because of tears of joy, because of his heritage, of whom He showed me; and spake unto me in a full, fresh, living power, and a holy, full testimony, so that my heart was ravished there with joy unspeakable; and I was out of the body, with God in his heavenly paradise, where I saw and felt

things unutterable, and beyond all demonstration or speech. At last the life closed with my understanding, and my spirit listened unto Him; and the everlasting God said: 'Shall I hide any thing from them that seek my face in righteousness? Nay, I will manifest it to them that fear me; I will speak, do thou listen, and publish it among my people, that they may be comforted, and thou satisfied.' And thus said the Living God of heaven and earth, upon the 28th of the third month, 1662: 'The sun shall leave its shining brightness, and cease to give light to the world—and the moon shall be altogether darkness, and give no light unto the night—the stars shall cease to know their office or place—my covenant with day, night, times, and seasons, shall sooner come to an end, than the covenant I have made with this people, into which they have entered with me, shall end or be broken. Yea, though the powers of darkness and hell combine against them, and the jaws of death open; yet will I deliver them, and lead them through all. I will confound their enemies as I did in Jacob, and scatter them as I did in Israel in the days of old; I will take their enemies, I will hurl them hither and thither, as stones hurled in a sling; and the memorial of this nation, which is holy unto Me, shall never be rooted out; but shall live through ages, as a cloud of witness in generations to come. I have brought them to the birth, yea, I have brought them forth; I have swaddled them, and they are mine. I will nourish them, and carry them as on eagle's wings; and though clouds gather against them, I will make my way through them; though darkness gather together on a heap, and tempests gender, I will scatter them as with an east wind; and nations shall know they are my in-

heritance; and they shall know I am the Living God, who will plead their cause with all that rise up in opposition against them!'

"These words are holy, faithful, eternal, good, and true; blessed are they that hear and believe unto the end: and because of them, no strength was left in me for a while; but at last my heart was filled with joy, even as David's, when the ark of God was brought from the house of Obed-Edom, when David danced before it, and Israel shouted for joy."

"FRANCIS HOWGILL."

In the 12th month, 1662, he was at Reading, in Berkshire, where he wrote a Testimony concerning the life, death, trials, travels, and labours of Edward Burrough, who died in Newgate that year, aged twenty-seven years, a prisoner for the testimony of Jesus. They had been companions and fellow labourers in the Gospel for many years. They were closely united to each other, having their hearts set upon the propagation of that Truth, by which liberty from the bondage of sin is obtained, and salvation received through Jesus Christ, the true Light of the world.

The following pathetic lamentation over Edward Burrough, is extracted from the Testimony.

"Shall days, or months, or years wear out thy name, as though thou hadst no being? O nay! Shall not thy noble valiant acts, and mighty works, which thou hast wrought through the power of Him who gave thee being, live in generations to come? O yes! The children that are yet unborn, shall have thee in their mouths; and thy works shall testify of thee, in generations that yet have not a being, and shall count thee blessed. Did thy life go

out as the snuff of a candle? O nay! Thou hast penetrated the hearts of many; and the memorial of the just shall live for ever, and be had in renown among the children of wisdom for ever; and they who are in that, shall see thee there, and enjoy thee there, though thou be gone away hence, and can no more be seen in mutability; yet thy life and thy spirit shall run parallel with immortality.

"O Edward Burrough! I cannot but mourn for thee: yet not as one without hope or faith; knowing and having a perfect testimony of thy well-being, in my heart, by the Spirit of the Lord; yet thy absence is great, and years to come shall know the want of thee. Shall I not lament as David did for a worse man than thou, even for Abner, when in wrath he perished by the hand of Joab, without any just cause, though he was a valiant man. "David lamented over Abner, and said: "Died Abner as a fool dieth?" O nay! he was betrayed of his life, by the hand of the oppressors, whose habitations are full of cruelty. O my soul! come not thou within their secret; for thy blood shall be required at the hands of them who thirsted after thy life; and it shall cry as Abel's, who was in the faith: even so wert thou. It shall weigh as a ponderous millstone upon their necks, and shall crush them under; and be as a worm that gnaweth and shall not die.

"When I think upon thee, I am melted into tears of true sorrow, and because of the want that the inheritance of the Lord hath of thee, my substance is even as dissolved. Shall I not say, as David said, of Saul and Jonathan, when they were slain in Mount Gilboa: 'The beauty of Israel is slain upon the high places;' even so wast thou stifled in nasty holes and prisons, and many more who were precious in the eyes of

the Lord; and surely precious wast thou to me, O dear, Edward! 'I am distressed for thee my brother! very pleasant hast thou been to me, and my love to thee was wonderful, passing the love of women. O thou! whose bow never turned back, neither sword empty from the blood of the slain, from the slaughter of the mighty;' who made nations and multitudes shake with the Word of Life in thy mouth; and wast very dreadful to the enemies of the Lord: for thou didst cut like a razor; and yet to the seed of God brought forth, thy words dropt like oil, and thy lips as the honey-comb.

"Thou shalt be recorded amongst the valiants of Israel, who attained to the first degree, through the power of the Lord, that wrought mightily in thee in thy day; and thou wast worthy of double honour, because of thy work's sake. Thou wast expert to handle thy weapon; and by thee the mighty have fallen, and the slain of the Lord have been many. Many have been pricked to the heart, through the power of the Word of Life; and coals of fire from thy life, came forth of thy mouth, that in many a thicket and among many briers and thorns, it came to be kindled; and did devour much stubble that cumbered the ground, and stained the earth. O, how certain a sound did thy trumpet give! And how great an alarm didst thou give in thy day, which made the host of the uncircumcised greatly distressed!

"What man so valiant, though as Goliath of Gath, would not thy valour have encountered with, while many despised thy youth! And how have I seen thee, with thy sling and thy stone, despised weapons as to war with, wound the mighty! And that which hath been contemptible to the Dragon's party, even as the jaw-bone of an ass, with it thou hast slain the

Philistines, heaps upon heaps, as Sampson. Thou hast put thy hand to the hammer of the Lord, and hast often fastened nails in the heads of the Lamb's enemies, as Jael did to Sisera; and many a rough stone hast thou polished and squared, and made fit for the building of God; and much knotty wood hast thou hewed in thy day, which was not fit for the building of God's house; O thou prophet of the Lord! and thou shalt for ever be recorded in the Lamb's book of life, among the Lamb's worthies, who have followed the Lamb through great tribulations, as many can witness for thee, from the beginning; and at last hast overcome, and hast been found worthy to stand with the Lamb upon Mount Sion, the hill of God, as I have often seen thee; and thy heart well tuned as a harp to praise the Lord, and to sound forth his great salvation, which many a time made glad the hearts of them that did believe, and strengthened their faith and hope.

"Well, thou art at rest, and bound up in the bundle of life; and I know tears were wiped away from thy eyes, because there was no cause of sorrow in thee; for I know thou witnessedst the old things done away; and there was no curse, but blessings were poured upon thy head as rain, and peace as a mighty shower; and trouble was far from thy dwelling, though in the outward man trouble on every side; and thou hadst a greater share in that for the Gospel's sake, though a youth, in thy time, than many besides; but now thou art freed from that, and hast obtained a name, through faith, with the saints in light.

"Well, hadst thou more to give up than thy life, for the Name of Jesus, in this world? Nay, and to seal thy testimony, committed unto thee, with thy blood, as thou hast often said in thy

day; which shall remain as a crown upon thee for ever and ever. And now thou art freed from the temptations of him who had the power of death; and art freed from thy outward enemies, who hated thee because of the life that dwelt in thee, and remainest at the right hand of God, where there is joy and pleasure for evermore in the everlasting Light; which thou didst often testify unto, according to the word of prophecy in thy heart, which was given unto thee by the Holy Ghost; and thou art at rest in the perfection thereof, in the beauty of holiness; yet thy life and thy spirit I feel as present, and have unity with it and in it, beyond all created and visible things, which are subject to mutation and change. And thy life shall enter into others, to testify unto the same Truth, which is from everlasting to everlasting; for God hath raised, and shall raise up children unto Abraham of them that have been as dead stones, whose power is almighty, great in his people in the midst of his enemies."*

* For a further account of Edward Burrough, see Tuke's Biographical Notices, vol. 2.

CHAPTER VIII.

F. Howgill is summoned before the justices of the peace at Kendal, and committed to Appleby jail.—Is recommitted for refusing to take an oath. Being allowed liberty to settle his affairs, he visits justice Duckett, and utters a prophetic denunciation against him. Notices of the fulfilment of his prophecy.

Francis Howgill did not remain at liberty long, after the decease of his friend and fellow-labourer, Edward Burrough; for in the latter part of the fifth month, 1663, he was sent for out of the market, at Kendal, in Westmoreland, where he happened to be about his ordinary occasions; being summoned by the high-constable, to appear before the justices of the peace, then present at a tavern, who tendered to him the oath of allegiance and supremacy; and because, for conscience' sake, in obedience to the commands of Christ, he could not swear, they committed him to Appleby jail, where they kept him, in a smoky hole, from the sessions till the assizes; at which he appeared, and had the same oath tendered to him in court, by the judges; and for not taking it he was indicted, but had liberty to answer to the indictment the next assizes. In the mean time a goal-delivery occurring, he was, in order to ensnare him, required to enter into bond for good behaviour, which he refusing, the judges again tendered him the oath; and he was recommitted to prison for persevering in his testimony against all swearing.

It is probable, that it was in the interval between the time of his being recommitted, and the following assizes, that the justices indulged him with a few days liberty, to settle his affairs; in

the course of which time he felt himself constrained to visit a justice of the name of Duckett, who lived at Grayrigg-hall. He was a great persecutor of Friends, and also one of the magistrates concerned in committing him. Francis Howgill was accompanied by a Friend whose initials were J. D. according to one of the accounts of this visit, of which the editor is in possession of three, which he has received through different channels, all to the same import. By these it appears that the justice was much surprised at seeing Francis, and said to him: "What is your will now Francis? I thought you had been in Appleby jail." Francis replied to this effect: "No, I am not; but I am come with a message from the Lord.—Thou hast persecuted the Lord's people; but His hand is now against thee, and He will send a blast upon all that thou hast: and thy name shall rot out of the earth; and this thy dwelling shall become desolate, and an habitation for owls and jackdaws."

When Francis had delivered this message, the justice trembled, and said: "Francis are you in earnest?" Francis replied: "Yes I am in earnest; it is the Word of the Lord to thee; and there are many now living, who will see it."

This prediction appears to have been remarkably fulfilled; for according to the testimony of James Wilson, who was an approved minister amongst friends, and who lived at one time at Grayrigg Foot, in Westmoreland, and afterwards at Darlington, in the county of Durham; this justice Duckett had several children, and all his sons died without issue, and some of them came to poverty: James Wilson had also himself, repeatedly, given alms at his own door, to a woman who was the last of the Duckett family.

Burns, the historian of Westmoreland and Cumberland, also speaking of this family in allusion to Anthony Duckett, Esq. and the Grayrigg-hall estate, about the year 1670, says: "Not long after this, the said Anthony sold the estate to Sir John Lowther, and died without issue; all his brothers also died without issue male; and the name and family, in Westmoreland, is now, 1777, extinct." "Grayrigg-hall, being the ancient manor house, was a strong old building, in a quadrangular form, adapted more for defence than convenience. It is now, 1777, totally in ruins, most of the lead and timber thereof having been removed to Lowther."

Since the time of Burns, the ruins which "owls and jackdaws" had long inhabited, have been removed; and a farm house has recently been erected upon the site of the old hall.

CHAPTER IX.

An account of F. Howgill's examination, trial, and sentence to imprisonment for life.

The account of the examination of Francis Howgill, and of his trial, is given at the commencement of a volume containing his works, entitled, "The Dawnings of the Gospel Day;" from which the following is extracted.

"Being at the assizes, he had liberty to speak freely before the judges, and great men of the country, and many others; indeed the Lord made him without fear, and girded his heart with strength, and opened his mouth in wisdom, so that he gained upon his adversaries; for which glory is given to God, who was a present help to him in time of need.

"Before the judges sat, he spoke to the clerk of the assizes, and told him he did not know whether they expected his appearance then or not. The clerk informed him, that he had done well to come there, and told him that he would acquaint the judge, and he should only engage him to appear next assizes, to answer to the indictment against him, and that he should not then appear in court. Francis bid him do what he would. In the mean time Sir Philip Musgrave, so called, a great adversary to the Truth, and the great and chief prosecutor of Francis, had informed the judge against him, that he was a dangerous person, a ringleader, and a keeper of meetings of dangerous consequence, and destructive of the peace of the nation; so they concluded he should appear in court, and

the clerk informed him, and told him about what time he should be called. So the court began, and judge Twisden gave the charge to the grand jury, in which he said: 'There was a sort of people who, under pretence of conscience and religion, seemed to build upon the king's declaration from Breda, and under colour of this hatched treasons and rebellions;' and gave the jury charge to enquire and present such, that the peace of the nation might be preserved. So they empanneled the jury, and Francis was called to the bar; and the judge speaking calmly to him, said: the face of things was much altered since the last assizes; and he then made a speech to him and the country, telling him that all sects, under pretence of conscience, did violate the laws, and hatched rebellions; not, saith he, that I have any thing to charge you with; but seeing the oath of allegiance was tendered to you the last assises, and you refused to take it, it was looked upon that such persons were enemies to the king and goverament. He also said: "I will not trouble you now to answer to your indictment, but I must do that the next assizes; in the mean time you must enter into recognizance for good behaviour." To which Francis answered: "I desire liberty to speak;" which he had without interruption, and said as follows:—

Francis Howgill.—"Judge Twisden, thou very well knowest upon how slender an account or none, I was brought before thee the last assizes, where thou wast pleased to tender me the oath of allegiance, though I believe both thou, and the rest of the court did know, it was a received principle amongst us not to swear at all: many reasons I gave thee then; many more I have to add if I may have audience; for it may appear to you an absurd thing, and

obstinacy in me to refuse it, if I should not render a reason. I am none of those that make religion a cloak of maliciousness, nor conscience a cloak to carry on plots or conspiracies: the Lord hath redeemed me and many more out of such things; and seeing I am engaged to appear at the next assizes, I desire no further thing may be required of me."

Judge.—"You must enter into bond this dangerous time, and therefore consider of it, and tell me now, or before the assizes end."

The second day of the assizes he was called again.

Francis Howgill.—Seeing thou art pleased to let me answer to my indictment, which I am willing to do: I have been of good behaviour, and shall so continue; but it seems a hard thing to me and full of severity, seeing I am obliged to appear to answer an indictment of so high a nature, if prosecuted against me, which tends to the loss of my liberty for life, and my estate for ever. I hope the court will not envy my liberty for five months.

Judge Turner.—"We do not desire your imprisonment if you will be of good behaviour."

Francis pressed further that they would not put him upon giving bond for good behaviour, knowing himself to be so bound by the Truth, that he could not misbehave himself. Daniel Flemming, another persecuting justice, had framed another indictment against him for meeting, and stood up, fearing the snare of giving bond would not hold, and said as follows:

Daniel Flemming.—"My lord, he is a great speaker; it may be the Quakers cannot want him."

This kind of phrase, not uncommon in the north of England, implies that the persons referred to, can not do without the person spoken of.

Judge.—"Let him be what he will, if he will enter bond."

Francis said, that he had nothing to accuse himself of, for his conscience bore him witness that he loved peace, and sought it with all men.

Both Judges.—"What do you tell of conscience, we meddle not with it; but you contemn the laws, and keep great meetings, and go not to church."

Francis Howgill.—"We are fallen in a sad age, if meeting together peaceably without arms, or force, or intention of hurt to any man; but only to worship God in spirit, and exhort one another to righteousness; and to pray together in the Holy Ghost as the primitive Christians of old, should be reckoned a breach of peace and misbehaviour."

Judge Twisden.—"Do you compare these times with them; they were heathens that persecuted; but we are Christian magistrates."

Francis Howgill.—"It is a doctrine always held by us, and as received a principle as any thing we believe, that Christ's kingdom could not be set up with carnal weapons, nor the Gospel propagated by force of arms, nor the Church of God built with violence; but the Prince of Peace was manifested amongst us, that we should learn war no more, but should love enemies, and forgive them that do evil to us."

Philip Musgrave stood up and said: "My lord, we have been remiss towards this people, and have striven with them, and put them in prison again and again, and fined them; and as soon as they are out they meet again."

Then stood up John Lowther, called a justice, and said: "My lord, they grow insolent; notwithstanding all laws and the execution of them, yet they grow upon us; and their meetings are dangerous."

Philip Musgrave then stood up again, seconded by *Justice Flemming*, so called, and produced a paper, in great capital letters, which he gave to the judge; and told him: "That it happened some Quakers were sent to prison, and one of them died at Lancaster; and they carried his corps through the country, and set that paper upon the coffin: 'This is the body of such a one, who was persecuted by Daniel Flemming till death.'"

Judge.—"We have spent much time with you; I will discourse no more."

Francis Howgill.—"I acknowledge your moderation towards me, allowing me liberty to speak; I shall not trouble you much longer: I shall be willing to appear to answer to the indictment at the assizes; and, in the mean time, to live peaceably and quietly as I have done, if that will satisfy."

Judge.—"You must enter into bond, to come at no more meetings."

Francis Howgill.—"I cannot do that: If I should, I were treacherous to God, and my own conscience; and the people and you, would but judge me a hypocrite." They were loath to commit him, yet at last they did. Francis turning about to the country people, said: "The fear of God be among you all." The hearts of people were tender towards him, and some were very loving and affectionate to him.

"Being thus committed on the 23rd of 1st month, 1664, he was detained a prisoner about five months; and a great part of the time of this imprisonment kept very strictly, a charge being giving by the justices several times, that none should be suffered to speak with him; and the jailer being a cruel man, was ready to execute their orders to the utmost, and kept him so close that none were suffered to come to him or speak

with him, but those who got secretly to him, without the jailer's knowledge: all which he bore patiently; and never opened his mouth to complain of. And when the time of the assizes came, he got liberty to speak with the clerk of the assizes, who told him, that he must prepare himself to come to trial. He said, he was prepared, but thought that all he could say would avail little; believing they purposed to prosecute him with all severity, which proved to be the case; for the country justices who began to prosecute him, had incensed the judges against him. However, he endeavoured all he could to convince them of his innocency; and to that end drew up the substance of the oath into several heads, which he could subscribe to, though he could not swear, and delivered it to the court.

"He drew up another paper, addressed to judge Turner, showing him and the court the cause of his first commitment, and the former proceedings against him; and how unequal it was, that they waved the other statutes lately made against nonconformists, and prosecuted him upon a statute formerly made against popish recusants. In the same paper he also signified, that he was a man of a tender spirit, and feared the Lord from a child; and had never taken any oath of allegiance; and was not in any evil intent to the king's person or government, either in thought, word, or deed; but that merely upon a spiritual and conscientious account, he could not swear, being otherwise persuaded of the Lord. That he could not swear, seeing it was against the command of Christ, and the apostles' doctrine. He also declared, that he was able to make it evident to be against the example of the primitive Christians, for divers hundred years, and so no new opinion; and that he did neither in wilfulness nor obstinacy refuse it, being sensible

of the damage that would come thereby, if they prosecuted him upon that statute; he having a wife and children, and some small estate, which he knew lay at stake in the matter: but he said, if it were his life also he could not revolt from, or deny that which he had most certainly believed in; but if any could convince him, that he was in error, either by Scripture or reason, he had an ear to hear; and therefore, all these things considered, he desired he might be dismissed from those his strait bonds, and from their persecution of him upon that account. Both these papers his wife delivered to the clerk, and he to the judge; and they were given to the justices, and read before Francis was called into the court. In these papers he had come as near to what they desired, as he could in the Truth, in order that he might leave them the more without excuse; but all he could do would not prevail with them, for they were determined to do their utmost against him.

"At the assizes, holden at Appleby the 22nd and 23rd of 6th month, 1664. Francis Howgill being called to the bar, the judge spoke moderately, and said: here is an indictment against you for refusing to take the oath of allegiance: so you must plead to it either guilty or not guilty.

"*Francis Howgill*, with a heart girded up with strength and courage, said: 'Judge Turner, may I have liberty to speak and make my defence, for I have none to plead my cause but the Lord.'

Judge.—"You may."

Francis Howgill.—"I will lay the true state of my case, and of the proceedings against me from the first, before thee, seeing judge Twisden is not here, who had knowledge of all the proceedings hitherto. I am a countryman, born and brought up in this county; my carriage and conversation are known, how I have walked

peaceably towards all men, as I hope my countrymen can testify. About a year ago, being at my neighbouring market town, about my reasonable and lawful occasions, I was sent for by a high constable out of the market, to the justice of peace, before whom I went; and when I came there, they had nothing to lay to my charge, but fell to ask me questions about our meetings to ensnare me; and when they could find no occasion, they seemed to tender the oath of allegiance to me, though they never read it to me, neither did I positively deny it; yet they committed me to prison: and so I was brought hither to this assizes; and then the mittimus by which I was committed was called for, and the judge read it, and said to the justices it was insufficient; nevertheless, Judge Twisden tendered the oath of obedience to me. Many things I did allege then, and many more I have to say now, if time will permit: from that time I was under an engagement to appear at the next assizes, and so was called, and did appear at the last gaol delivery; and a further obligation was required of me for good behaviour, which I could not give lest I should be brought into a farther snare; and since that time, I have been committed prisoner these five months; some of which time, I have been kept under great restraint, my friends not permitted to speak to me. Thus briefly I have given thee an account hitherto, and as to the oath the substance thereof, with the representation of my case, is presented unto the court already, unto which I have set my hand; and also shall in these words testify the same in open court, if required; and seeing it is the very substance the law doth require, I desire it may be accepted, and I cleared from my imprisonment."

Judge.—"I am come to execute the law; and

the law requires an oath, and I cannot alter it. Do you think the law must be changed for you, or only for a few? if this be suffered the administration of justice is hindered; no action can be tried, nor evidence given for the king, nor any other particular case can be tried; and your principles are altogether inconsistent with the law and government. I pray you show me which way we shall proceed; show me some reason, and give me some ground?"

Francis Howgill.—"I shall. In the mouth of two or three witnesses every truth is confirmed; and we never deny to give, and still are ready to give evidence for the king wherein we are concerned; and in any other matter for the ending of strife between man and man, in truth and righteousness; and this answers the substance of the law."

Judge.—"Is this a good answer think you, whether to be given with or without oath? The law requires an oath."

Francis Howgill.—"Still evidence is, and may be given in truth according to the substance of the law, so that no detriment cometh unto any party, seeing that true testimony may be borne without an oath; and I did not speak of changing the law; yet seeing we never refused giving testimony which answereth the intent and substance of the law, I judged it was reasonable to receive our testimony, and not to expose us unto such sufferings, seeing we scrupled an oath only upon a conscientious account, in tenderness of our consciences, for fear of breaking the command of Christ the Saviour of the world; which, if we do, there is none of you able to plead our cause for us with Him."

Judge.—"But why do you not go to church but meet in houses and private conventicles, which the law forbids?"

Francis Howgill.—"We meet only for the worship of the true God, in spirit and truth, having the primitive Christians for our example; and to no other end but that we may be edified, and God glorified; and when two or three are met together in the name of Christ, and He in the midst of them, there is a Church."

Judge.—"That is true; but how long is it since you have been at church, or will you go to the church the law doth allow? give me some reasons why you do not go."

Francis Howgill.—"I have many to give thee if thou hast patience to hear me: *first*, God dwells not in temples made with men's hands: *second*, the parish house hath been a temple for idols, to wit for the mass and the rood; and I dare have no fellowship with idols, nor worship in idols temples: for what have we to do with idols, their temples and worship."

Judge.—"Were there not houses called the houses of God, and temples?"

Francis Howgill.—"Yes, under the law; but the Christians who believed in Christ separated from these; and the temple was made and left desolate; and from the gentiles' temples too, and met together in houses, and broke bread from house to house; and the Church was not confined then to one particular place, neither is it now. Many more things I have to say." The judge interrupted.

Judge.—"Will you answer to your indictment?"

Francis Howgill.—"I know not what it is. I never heard it, though I have often desired a copy."

Judge.—"Clerk, read it." So he read it: "That Francis Howgill had wilfully, obstinately, and contemptuously denied to swear when the oath was tendered."

Francis Howgill.—"I deny it."

Judge.—"What do you deny?"

Francis Howgill.—"The indictment."

Judge.—"Did not you deny to swear; and the indictment convicts you that you did not swear?"

Francis Howgill.—"*First*, I gave unto the court the substance of the oath, as you all know. *Secondly*, I told you I did not deny it out of obstinacy, or wilfulness, neither in contempt of the king's law or government; for my will would rather choose my liberty than bonds; and I am sensible it is likely to be a great damage to me. I have a wife and children, and some estate, which we might subsist upon, and do good to others; and I know all this lays at stake; but if it were my life also, I durst not do but as I do, lest I should incur the displeasure of God. And do you judge I would lose my liberty wilfully, and suffer the spoiling of my estate, and the ruining of my wife and children, in obstinacy and wilfulness? Surely nay."

Judge.—"Jury, you see that he denies the oath, and he will not plead to the indictment, only excepts against it because of the form of words; but you see he will not swear, and yet he saith he denies the indictment, and you see upon what ground."

Then they called the jailer to witness and swear, that the last assizes he did refuse, &c. and the jury without going from the bar, gave in the verdict, guilty; and then the court broke up. The next day, towards evening, when they had tried all the prisoners, Francis was brought to the bar to receive his sentence.

The judge stood up, and said:—"Come, the indictment is proved against you, what have you to say why sentence shall not be given?"

Francis Howgill.—"I have many things to

say, if you will hear them. *First*, As I have said, I denied not out of obstinacy or wilfulness, but was willing to testify the truth in this matter of obedience, or any other matter wherein I was concerned. *Second*, Because swearing is directly against the command of Christ. *Third*, Against the doctrine of the apostles. *Fourth*, Even some of your principal pillars of the Church of England, as Bishop Usher, sometime Primate of Ireland, said in his works, the Waldenses did deny all swearing in their age, from the command of Christ and the apostle James, and it was a sufficient ground; and Doctor Gauden, late Bishop of Exeter, in a book of his I lately read, cited very many ancient fathers, to show that for the first three hundred years Christians did not swear; so that it is no new doctrine;" to which the court seemed to give a little ear, and talked one to another, and Francis stood silent.

Then the judge said:—"Sure you mistake?"

Francis Howgill.—"I have not the book here."

Judge.—"Will you say upon your honest word, they denied all swearing?"

Francis Howgill.—"What I have said is true."

Judge.—"Why do you not come to church and hear service, and be subject to the law, and to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake?"

Francis Howgill.—"We are subject, and for that cause we do pay taxes, tribute, and custom; and give unto Cæsar the things that are his, to wit, worship, honour and obedience: and if thou mean the parish assembly, I tell thee faithfully, I am persuaded, and upon good ground, their teachers are not the ministers of Christ, neither their worship the worship of God."

Judge.—"Why it may be for some small things in the service you reject it all?"

Francis Howgill.—"*First*, it is manifest they are time servers; one while preaching up that for Divine service to people, which another while they cry down as popish, superstitious, and idolatrous; and that which they have preached up twenty years together, make shipwreck of all in a day; and now again call it Divine, and would have all compelled to that themselves once made void."

Judge.—"Why never since the king came in."

Francis Howgill.—"Yes, the same men that preached it down once, now cry it up; so they are so unstable and wavering that we cannot believe they are the ministers of Christ. *2ndly.* They teach for hire, and live by forced maintenance, and would force a faith upon men, contrary to Christ and the apostle's rule, who would have every one persuaded in his own mind, and said: 'whatsoever is not of faith is sin;' and yet they say, faith is the gift of God, and we have no such faith given; but yet they would force theirs upon us; and because we cannot receive it, they cry 'you are not subject to authority and the laws;' and nothing but confiscations, imprisonment, and banishment are threatened; and this is their greatest plea. I could mention more particulars."

Then the judge interrupted.

Judge.—"Well, I see you will not swear, nor conform, nor be subject, and you think we deal severely with you; but if you would be subject we should not need."

Francis Howgill.—"I do so judge indeed, that you deal severely with us for obedience to the commands of Christ; I pray then, canst thou show me how any of these people for whom the

act was made, have been proceeded against by the statute? though I envy no man's liberty."

Judge.—"O yes! I can instance you many up and down the country that are premunired. I have done it myself, pronounced sentence against divers."

Francis Howgill.—"What, against Papists?"

Judge.—"No."

Francis Howgill.—"What, against Quakers? so I have heard indeed: so then that statute which was made against Papists thou lettest them alone, and executest it against the Quakers."

Judge.—"Well, you will meet in great numbers, and do increase; but there is a new statute which will make you fewer."

Francis Howgill.—"Well, if we must suffer, it is for Christ's sake, and for well doing."

Francis then being silent, the judge pronounced the sentence, but spake so low, that the prisoner, though near to him, could scarcely hear it. The sentence was: "You are put out of the king's protection, and the benefit of the law; your lands are confiscated to the king during your life, and your goods and chattels for ever; and you to be a prisoner during your life."

Francis Howgill.—"A hard sentence for my obedience to the commands of Christ. The *Lord forgive you all.*"

So he turned from the bar; but the judge speaking he turned again, and many more words passed to the same purport as before.

At last the judge rose up, and said:—"Well, if you will yet be subject to the laws, the king will show you mercy."

Francis Howgill.—"The Lord hath showed mercy unto me; and I have done nothing against the king, nor government, nor any man,

blessed be the Lord, and therein stands my peace; for it is for Christ's sake I suffer, and not for evil doing."

And so the court broke up. The people were generally moderate, and many were sorry to see what was done against him; but Francis signified how content and glad he was, that he had any thing to lose for the Lord's precious Truth, of which he had publicly borne testimony, and that he was now counted worthy to suffer for it.

That part of the sentence consigning him to imprisonment during life, was not supported by the act of parliament, as was afterwards clearly proved in the case of George Fox, before judges Hales and Wild; see Richard Davies's Journal, sixth edition, page 102—107.

CHAPTER X.

F. Howgill's imprisonment. He is engaged in writing in support of the principles of Truth. An account of his last illness and death.

Francis Howgill bore his imprisonment with great patience, and evinced so much meekness, resignation, and love, as greatly to gain the love and esteem of the jailer's whole family, and of many others in the town of Appleby; and such was the confidence the people placed in him, that whilst in prison, they frequently referred their differences to him for settlement.

We find he continued diligently engaged in promoting the cause of Truth and righteousness, whilst a prisoner, by writing epistles to those to whom he was joined in religious fellowship, replying to the works of some who falsely represented the principles of Friends, and to those of others, who endeavoured to defend a hireling ministry, and lifeless forms of worship, incompatible with the spirituality of the Gospel dispensation; and in refuting a work attempting to prove swearing lawful amongst Christians, thereby endeavouring to make void the exhortation of Christ: "Swear not at all." He also wrote several doctrinal pieces; selections from which, and his epistles, form the second part of this volume.

The peace of mind with which he was blessed, in patiently submitting to the loss of his liberty, for faithfully maintaining those testimonies, which he firmly believed the Lord required him to espouse and defend, not being afraid "of

them that kill the body, and after that have no more that they can do," is strikingly set forth in the following words, subjoined to one of his epistles: "From Appleby jail, the place of my rest, where my days and hours are pleasant unto me."

When any one noticed the great length of time he had been a prisoner, he would say: "The will of the Lord be done." He was taken ill the 11th of the 11th month, 1668; some time before which, he disposed of his estate, and set his house in order, being sensible of the decay of his "outward man." His love to his brethren and fellow-labourers was very great; and in testimony of it, he left something to several of them, by way of remembrance; he was also mindful of the Church, and left a legacy to be distributed amongst all the poor of the household of faith, in the parts where he lived. And though the time of his departure drew nigh, and his sickness increased, yet his faculties were preserved clear, and he was often very fervent in prayer, and uttered many comfortable expressions, to the great refreshment of those who were with him. About two days before his departure, being attended by his dear wife and several friends, he said to them: "Friends, as to matter of words, you must not expect much more from me, neither is there any great need of it, as to speak of matters of faith to you who are satisfied; only that you remember my dear love to all friends who inquire of me, for I ever loved Friends well, or any in whom the Truth appeared: and truly God will own His people, as He hath ever hitherto done, and as we have daily witnessed; for no sooner had they made the act against us for banishment, to the great suffering of many good Friends, but the Lord stirred up enemies against them,

even to three great nations, whereby the violence of their hands was taken off.*

"I say again, God will own His people, even all those that are faithful; and as for me, I am well, and content to die: I am not at all afraid of death: and truly one thing was of late in my heart, and that I intended to have written to George Fox and others; even that which I have observed, which thing is, that this generation passeth fast away: we see many good and precious friends, within these few years, have been taken from us; and therefore Friends had need to watch, and be very faithful, so that we may leave a good, and not a bad savour to the succeeding generation; for you see that it is but a little time that any of us have to stay here."

Often in the course of his sickness, he said he was content to die; that he was ready, and praised God for the sweet enjoyments and refreshments he had received on that, his prison-house bed, whereon he lay, freely forgiving all who had a hand in his restraint. He said: "This was the place of my first imprisonment

* From history it appears, that soon after the passing of the act of banishment, the English nation was permitted to involve itself in war with Holland, France, and Denmark. And in a work entitled "Posthuma Christiana," by William Crouch, he says, in reference to this act, and the subsequent proceedings upon it: "It was not long before the Lord was pleased to manifest His displeasure, and to put a stop to these unnatural, unrighteous, and inhuman actions, by those severe strokes of His hand upon the nation, in the years 1665 and 1666. First, the great plague, which swept away great numbers of the inhabitants, and that followed by that dreadful fire, which reduced to ashes so great a part of the city of London; and also the wars with the Dutch at that time. And although they, like the Egyptians of old, did pursue the Lord's chosen Israel, yet God took off their chariot wheels, and they drave heavily; for the work prospered not in their hands."

for the Truth, here at this town, and if it be the place of my laying down the body, I am content." Several persons of note, inhabitants of Appleby, as the mayor and others, went to visit him; some of whom praying that God might speak peace to his soul, he sweetly replied: "He hath done it."

A few hours before his departure, some friends, who lived several miles from that place, went to visit him; he inquired of all their welfare, and prayed fervently, with many heavenly expressions, that the Lord, by his mighty power, might preserve them out of all such things as would spot and defile. And a little after, he was saying something concerning weeks, or a time, after which persecution would be ended, but his weakness was so great, and his voice so low, that it was not fully heard. A while after, recovering a little strength, he said: "I have sought the way of the Lord from a child, and lived innocently as among men; and if any enquire concerning my latter end, let them know that I die in the faith which I lived in, and suffered for."

After these words, he spake some other in prayer to God, and sweetly finished his course in much peace, on the 20th of 11th month, 1668, in the fiftieth year of his age; after being a prisoner for the testimony of Jesus, from the latter part of the 5th month, 1663.

His solicitude as a Christian parent, is remarkably exemplified in the following address to his daughter.

CHAPTER XI.

F. Howgill's advice to his Daughter.

THE UNCHANGEABLE TESTAMENT, AND WILL, AND COUNSEL OF FRANCIS HOWGILL, LEFT TO HIS DAUGHTER ABIGAIL HOWGILL.

Daughter Abigail,—This is for thee to observe, and keep, and take heed unto all the days of thy life, for the regulating of thy life and conversation in this world; that thy life may be happy, and thy end blessed, and God glorified by thee in thy generation. These things I bequeath unto thee, and counsel thee ever to observe, being the chief things alone I have to bestow upon thee; which I prize more than outward riches. Do thou so also, and observe and keep my sayings; and I charge thee before God, and by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, that thou observe what I say; the which I am moved of the Lord to leave behind for thee, and in tender love and affection unto thee, my daughter, that the Lord may give his blessing unto thee, and make thy ways prosperous, and thy latter end peace.

First of all, know this: I was never born to great possessions, nor did inherit great matters in this world; but the Lord hath always endowed me with sufficiency and enough, and hath been as a tender Father unto me; because my heart trusted in Him, and did love the way of righteousness from a child. I have no great portion to bestow upon thee, of the things of this

world; yet of that little which I have, and God hath blessed me with, something I shall give thee, which I shall not mention here; but thou wilt know at my decease; but thy dear mother I rather commend thee unto, who, I trust, will provide sufficiently for thee; unto whom my heart hath been upright before the Lord: she had a sufficient portion and dowry when I married her, the which I shall be sorry much to lessen or impair; and whatever was hers, if it please the Lord I decease before her, I freely leave unto her, as was ever my intention and purpose, which hath not, neither shall alter, through the strength of God, as God only knows, and bears me record; and it shall be manifest unto all in due time, as it is unto the Lord, who hath been with me in the midst of many troubles, trials, and sufferings, and hath lifted up my head above my adversaries, because I trusted only in his Name; which at all times I found as a refuge, and a present help in time of need; and so it will be unto thee, if thou fear his Name, and trust in Him, for ever.

And now, dear child, hearken unto the words of my mouth, and listen unto my counsel; ponder these things I leave behind me, unto thee to observe, that thy days may be long upon the earth, and blessed and comfortable unto thee, and an honour to God in thy generation. The time when thou wast born and came into the world, was a time of deep exercise and trouble with me, not from the Lord, who always spake peace unto me, and did sustain me; but by reason of the adversary of mankind, who always seeks to devour the good in all, and is the sower of discord and mischief in the hearts of them who fear not the Lord, neither abide in his counsel; in whom he enters, as any place is given unto

his temptations, and corrupts the mind: but though it was a great trial that came upon me, the Lord kept my heart in uprightness unto Him and gave me much patience; so that though the earth had been removed into the sea, and all outward things had run into confusion, and nature had changed its course, the Lord gave me a resolution and strength not to be troubled, neither offended; because He did support me.

At that time wast thou born; and therefore I called thy name Abigail, which signifies, *the father's joy or delight;* for in thee I was comforted; and my present trouble mitigated.

My counsel unto thee is, that thou remember thy Creator in the days of thy youth, and fear the Lord in thy youth; and learn to know Him, and serve Him all thy days. First, seek the kingdom of God, and the righteousness thereof: it is not far from thee; it is within thee; it consists in life and power; and it stands in righteousness, truth, equity, justice, mercy, long-suffering, patience, love, light, and holiness: this is the being and centre thereof. Therefore seek not lo here or lo there without thee, in this or that outward observation; for many seek there and never find it; but seek, and thou shalt find; wait, and thou shalt receive.

If thou inquire in what must I seek, and what must I wait in, and how must I seek; I inform thee, thou must silence all thy own thoughts; and thou must turn thy mind to that which is pure, holy, and good, within thyself; and seek and wait in that, in the Light of Jesus Christ, wherewith thou art enlightened; which shows thee when thou dost evil, and checks and reproves. Take heed unto that, and it will show the evil motions and thoughts; and as thou lovest it, it will subdue them, and preserve thee

for the time to come, out of evil: for though thou be born into the world a reasonable creature, yet thou must be born again, and be made a new creature; or else thou canst not enter into God's kingdom.—Thou must know the seed of the kingdom in thyself, of which thou must be born, and formed again into God's image. I have told thee that God hath sown it in thee, a grain of it, a measure of it, a portion of it, a measure of Light and Truth, of righteousness and holiness. Keep in thy mind to that, and love it, and thou wilt feel the Heavenly Father working in thee, and creating thee to life, through Jesus Christ, who hath enlightened thee; and thou wilt feel the power of the Lord strengthening thee in thy little, and making thee to grow in the immortal seed of his kingdom, and to out grow, and over grow all evil; so that thou wilt daily die to that, and have no pleasure in it; but in the Lord, and in his goodness and virtue shed abroad in thy heart; which thou wilt taste and feel within, and have joy and comfort therein.

Love the Lord with thy heart and soul, even Him that made thee, and gave thee and all things in heaven and earth a being; still wait for the knowledge of Him in thyself: He is not far from thee; but near unto thee, and unto all that call upon Him in an upright heart. And do thou inquire of thy dear mother, she will inform thee; she knows Him, and the way to life and peace; and hearken unto her instruction.

God is a Spirit, a pure Spirit of light, life, and power. He it is that searcheth the heart, and shows thee when thou dost evil, or thinkest evil, or speakest evil; and shows unto men and women their thoughts. That which shows the evil is good, and that which shows a lie is Truth. This is within; take heed to it. This

is called God's Spirit in the Scriptures; believe in it, love it, and it will quicken thy heart to good, and it will subject the evil. Here is thy teacher near thee; love it. If thou act contrary to it, it will condemn thee; therefore take heed unto this Spirit of Truth, and it will enlighten and enliven thee; and it will open thy understanding, and give thee to know what God is, and to do that which is good and acceptable in his sight. This Spirit never errs, but leads out of all error into all truth.

O Abigail, believe my words! they are the words of God, and Truth. Be not wanton, but sober minded in thy youth, and wait on the Lord within: hearken unto Him. God is Light immortal, Life immortal, Truth immortal; an everlasting, eternal Spirit. He speaks spiritually and invisibly within the hearts and consciences of men and women; hear what He speaks, and obey his voice, and thy soul shall live: fear to offend Him, or sin against Him; for the wages of sin is death. Therefore prize his love in thy young and tender years; and do thou read the Scriptures and Friends' books, and take heed unto what thou readest to obey it, as far as thou understandest; and pray often unto the Lord, that He will give thee his knowledge, and open thy understanding in the things of his kingdom. Search thy heart often with the Light of Christ in thee; manifest, and bring thy deeds to it, that they may be tried; and examine thyself how the case stands betwixt the Lord and thee; and if thou seest thyself wrong, humble thyself and be sorry, and turn unto Him, and He will show thee mercy; and take heed for the time to come, that thou run not into the same evil again. Keep thy heart clean; watch against the evil in thyself, in that which shows it; therein there is

power, and thereby thou hast power to overcome all evil.

And dear child, mind not the pleasures of sin which are but for a moment, and the end is misery; but keep under, and cross thy will and affection; so thy mind will have no pleasure in the evil, but in good; and thou wilt feel the immortal Seed springing up in thee, which God's peace and love is to.

O Abigail! these are great and weighty things, not to be slighted! Accompany thyself always with them that fear the Lord, and fear and worship Him in spirit and truth, and lead a holy and a blameless life and conversation; deny not them, but love them, and suffer with them. Take heed that thou follow not the hireling teachers, who preach for gain and lucre, and abide not in Christ's doctrine; believe them not, heed them not, they do people no good; but thou wilt see them thyself: they have an outside show of Godliness sometimes, but deny the power of God, and true holiness. Remember I have told thee, who have had perfect knowledge of them; but be sure that thou let nothing separate thy love from God and his people: those are his people that keep his law, and obey Christ's voice, and lead a holy life; and they were ever hated, and belied, and persecuted; and evil spoken of, always by bad and evil loose people: these are God's people, and his love, and peace, and blessing is with them. Do thou grow as a natural branch, up among them, of the living Vine; and continue all thy days in obedience unto God's will; and thou wilt feel joy and love in thy heart, which above all things covet after, and thou shalt attain to and obtain everlasting peace; which the Lord grant unto thee, according to the riches of his mercy and love; which endure for ever and ever, Amen.

And now Abigail, concerning thy well-being in this life, this is my advice and counsel unto thee: love thy dear mother, and ever obey her and honour her, and see thou grieve her not; be not stubborn nor wilful, but submit unto her, and be as an obedient child unto her, whose love and care hath been too great over thee and thy sisters; which hath brought too much trouble upon herself. Learn in thy youth to read and write a little, and sew and knit, and all points of good labour that belong to a maid; and flee idleness and sloth that nourish sin. And as thou growest up in years, labour in the affairs of the country, and beware of pride, and riotousness, and curiosity; but be well content with such apparel as thy mother will permit thee, and as thou mayst be a good example unto others in. Be not wanton, nor wild, nor light; but temperate, moderate, and chaste, and not forward in words nor speech; but swift to hear, slow to speak; and do thou always live with thy mother, and be a help unto her, and cherish her in her old age, and latter years; that she may be comforted in thee, and her soul may bless thee: love thy sisters, and be always courteous to them, and thy brother Thomas; encourage one another in good.

And Abigail, if thou live to be a woman of perfect years, keep thyself unspotted, and let not thy mind out after sports and pastimes, the end of all these is sorrow; neither of young men: if thou have a desire to marry, do not thou seek a husband, but let a husband seek thee; and if thou live in God's fear, and an honest life, and virtuous, they that fear God will seek unto thee; let not thy affections out unto every one that proffers love, but be considerate; and above all things choose one, if thou dost marry, that loves and fears the Lord: whose conversation thou knowest, and manner and course of life well,

before thou givest consent. Be discreet and wise; hide nothing from thy mother, and she will advise thee, no doubt, for thy good; and if she be living, marry not without her consent. And if thou join to a husband, be sure thou love him in thy heart, and be obedient unto him, and honour him among all; so will his heart be more to thee, and his love increase: grieve him not; but be gentle, and easily to be entreated, and mind thy own business. And if the Lord give thee children, bring them up in God's fear, and in good exercise, and keep them in subjection unto thee, and be an example of virtue and holiness unto them; that the Lord's blessing thou mayst feel in youth, and in age, and all thy life long.

O Abigail! remember these things; keep in mind these things! read often this writing over; get it copied over, and lay up my words in thy heart, and do them; so wilt thou be happy in this life, and in the life to come. These things I give thee in charge to observe, as my MIND, and WILL, and COUNSEL, unalterable unto thee; in witness whereof I have set my hand.

Thy dear father,

FRANCIS HOWGILL.

26th of the 5th month, 1666.

Part the Second,

CONTAINING

SELECTIONS FROM THE WORKS

OF

FRANCIS HOWGILL.

SELECTIONS, &c.

CHAPTER I.

AN ABRIDGEMENT OF AN ESSAY ENTITLED "SOME OF THE MYSTERIES OF GOD'S KINGDOM DECLARED." &c.

To the Reader.

In times past, in the night of ignorance, since the days of the apostles, many groped in the dark as blind; and out of thick darkness spoke darkly of the things of God, and of his kingdom; and wrote about the things of God, and his kingdom, and have fed the dark minds of many who are unconverted to God. And seeing how many people are confused in their minds, and err in judgment, and have lost the key of knowledge, which should give an entrance into the mysteries of God's kingdom, and open their hearts; therefore in compassion to such as are thirsting after the Lord, and for the sake of those who have no place to rest in, these things I have written as they were revealed to me, and in me, by his pure Spirit; and if thou comest out of the world that lies in wickedness, and waitest in the manifestation of the Spirit, thou wilt see them to be Truth.

I have not written to please men of corrupt minds, who glory in words and outward appearances, and natural parts and sounds, and have erred from the Life; but to the simple hearted, and for the strengthening of the weak.

That which thou seest in the following discourse which thou canst not close with, let it alone, and judge nothing before the time in the wisdom that is earthly. But by that of God in thee, I desire to be approved, and by nothing else.

I am thy friend in Truth, and wish good to all men

F. HOWGILL.

SECTION I.

Some of the Mysteries of God's kingdom declared.

The Lord God of the whole earth, who lives for ever, even the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob; whose throne is established in righteousness, who rides upon the heavens, and shines forth in his eternal excellency from the firmament of his power, is manifesting Himself as in the days of old, and revealing his righteousness as in the years past; and is pouring forth of his Spirit upon sons and daughters, according to his promise; and they that believe, come to be made partakers of the blessing of the everlasting hills. The Lord, who appeared at Sinai, unto Moses his servant, in the bush; who rose up from Mount Seir; and shined forth in his brightness from Mount Paran; and cometh with ten thousands of his saints; even He from whose right hand went a fiery law, so that the people could not behold his glory, hath now appeared in this the day of his power, and is appearing; whose glory shall dazzle the eyes of the world, whose brightness shall make dim all the world's glory, and stain its wisdom, and shut it up in utter darkness: and the shadow of death shall flee away; and all the haughty and lofty princes of this world shall be horribly afraid; the beasts shall go into their dens when the day appears; and the lambs of the everlasting fold shall come forth, and be fed in the fat valleys, where the springs of life com-

pass about all the banks; and they shall rejoice in their Shepherd, and say: "The Lord is my Shepherd;" which many at this time, who have seen his wonders as in the days of old, and his noble acts which the fathers have told of, who are fallen asleep and are at rest in the Lord, do admire at, and say: "What hath God wrought?"

God is now bringing many to see what those witnessed to be true; and to have the same fulfilled in themselves: honour and praise unto Him for ever, who is the stay and strength of all His people for ever. The day of the Lord is dawned, and the light hath appeared that manifesteth all things which are reprovable; and the Day-star is arisen in the hearts of many. This day when it appears, discovereth all things, and maketh all things manifest to those to whom it appears; as is declared by the Spirit of Truth in the Scriptures of Truth; "and every man's work shall be tried of what sort it is." And this day hath appeared to many who have waited for it; praises to the Lord! And now they see every thing in its ground and rise: and every tree and fruit is seen according to its kind, whether good or bad; and every man's work is obvious to every one who is in the day, and upon whom the morning of righteousness hath appeared, and the Sun of Righteousness hath shined, whereby that which is reprovable and condemnable in every one is seen, and that also which is justifiable and unreprovable.

SECTION II.

WHAT THE DAY OF THE LORD IS, HOW IT IS SEEN, AND TO WHOM IT HATH APPEARED.

God is a spirit, his day is spiritual, and is seen with a spiritual eye: it is pure light, pure brightness, the pure shining forth of the Lord in his glorious excellency; holiness shedding itself abroad in its glory—purity spreading itself in its immeasurable excellency; and it can only be seen as it is in itself by the children of light, that are born of it. The natural day receives its brightness from the sun; the spiritual day receives its brightness from the Sun of Righteousness, by whom it is brought forth, who causes it to spring from on high, who is the Fountain of life, without whom nothing was or is made. And as the natural day receives its clearness from the natural sun, and is discerned by the natural eye of the natural man; and all things natural are seen and discovered by and in the natural day, and are obvious to him that hath his sight; even so from the Sun of Righteousness, the Lord of glory, light, and purity, the day of God receives its brightness; and it is discerned by the spiritual eye of the spiritual man, who is in the image of the Father, brought forth in life from God the Father of life, by Christ Jesus the Life of men, the Light of the world. And this is the birth which is born from above, which is of the nature of the Father, and of the Son, and of the day: and he only who is of this birth, comes to behold this day, and discerns all things of the Father's kingdom by it, and likewise the hidden things of dishonesty, and the works of darkness, which are brought forth by the prince of darkness, who is shut up in eternal and utter darkness; which is his residence, and shall be

the residence for ever, of all the workers of iniquity that bear his image.

Yet some may say, This day has not appeared to any in this age. But if a man that is naturally blind should say that there is no light in the day, nor in the sun, because he sees none; is there therefore no light in the day, nor in the sun? And what if all things be alike unto him, day and night, so that he can distinguish nothing, does this therefore make void their seeing who do see with the natural eye, both the sun and the day? And if they who are spiritually blind, and are children of the night, say they see nothing of the day of the Lord, or of the discovery of the things of God, or of his glorious appearance, which many do witness, doth this therefore make their sight void, who have seen into the things of God's kingdom? The unbelief of some doth not make the faith of them that do believe void: God forbid.

SECTION III.

WHAT THE DAY OF THE LORD IS, AND WHAT IT WILL BE TO THE WICKED.

Though the day of the Lord is pure light and brightness, and mixeth not with the night which is of a contrary nature; yet it is a day of blackness and gloominess, and a notable terrible day unto the wicked, who hate its appearance, and hate the light, who are children of falsehood and of deceit; whose deeds are evil: it makes them and their deeds manifest; as it is written in a certain place: "The morning is unto them as the shadow of death." The appearance of the Lord affrights them; and they would run

from it, as a thief that diggeth through a wall, and breaketh open a house in the night, when deep sleep is upon men, is afraid when the day appears that discovers his actions. And the day of the Lord will steal upon such as live wantonly upon earth; whose hearts are set to seek after wickedness, as for hid treasure; and it will come upon them as upon a thief: and they being children of the night, and bringing forth fruits of darkness, will have their portion in utter darkness; thus shall the ungodly perish, and have their portion with hypocrites. Think of this, all you railers, and revilers of the Light, and of the appearance of God, and repent; for as with the wild ass that snuffs up the wind at her pleasure, and they that seek her will not weary themselves with her, yet the time cometh when she may be found and taken; even so all the ungodly, though they may run as a wild ass, and traverse their way as a swift dromedary, yet the day will come, when they will be overtaken in the midst of their security; and they shall not escape. And though the children, teachers, and professors of this world, who profess the Scriptures, have prayed for the day of the Lord, yet when it comes, it will be as a burning and devouring fire, and they will fall as stubble before it; for whatsoever is reprovable is manifested by the day in which God appears: and it shall appear, even to the wicked and to the ungodly. So all you hirelings who preach for hire, and you people who love to have it so, you shall not be hid; and all gainsayers of the Truth shall be found out, and shall be convinced of their hard speeches, and ungodly deeds. That which makes your deeds manifest is the day, and it will convince you; for even the wicked shall see His appearance, although to condemnation, shame, and contempt.

"They shall look on Him whom they have pierced." For even in the wicked God hath a witness which is pure, which checketh often, though they regard it not, because the god of this world hath blinded their eyes; but when Christ, the Light shall appear, He will make that to see in the wicked, which the god of this world hath blinded; and they shall behold Him in dread; and his pure appearance shall make them horribly afraid. Although they would not see, they shall be made to see; and they shall be made to hear that which they would not hear, when God sounds his trumpet, to give warning to all, that the dead, both small and great may arise, "some unto everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt."

SECTION IV.

WHAT THE DAY OF THE LORD IS TO THE RIGHTEOUS, AND HOW IT APPEARS TO THEM, AND WHETHER ANY ARE TO LOOK FOR IT WHILST IN THE BODY.

The appearance of God, who is eternal life, in his day, in his immeasurable Light, is a great joy and rejoicing to the righteous: for He is unto his people an everlasting light; and in his light they come to see light.

He reveals the secret mysteries of his kingdom in them who see his day appear in their hearts, which makes all things manifest, even the secrets of the Lord, and his hidden treasure, and his durable riches, which never canker nor rust, but are fresh, and keep their pure image and impression. By this Light all the righteous who have waited for God's appearance, come to see Him; as it is written: "Lo! this is our

God, we have waited for Him, and He will save us: this is the Lord; we have waited for him, we will be glad and rejoice in his salvation." Is He indeed come that you have waited for? Yea, come, "and his reward is with Him;" and they that see Him find contentment in Him, and in his reward: and what is the reward? joy, gladness, peace of conscience, assurance of God's love sealed in the heart by the pure Spirit of the Lord, the streams of Life flowing forth continually from the great deep, which refresh and keep cool in the greatest extremity and heat of temptation; and this is enjoyed by them that have waited and do wait for it; even in the body they bear witness of Him and of his coming. What was the witness of his disciples? "The Son of God is come and hath given us an understanding." Of what? of God, of his day, of his appearance, of his power, of his wisdom, of his kingdom, of hope, of faith, of assurance, of peace, of joy, of comfort and consolation. What! in this life? Yea, a cloud of witnesses I might bring in former ages, and also in this age, blessed be the Lord; but my witness that giveth me assurance, is nearer me than all their witnesses, although they be all true. Abraham, the father of the faithful, and of the righteous, who believed in God and was accepted, saw Christ's day and was glad: that is, by faith; yea, he and all that ever saw Christ's day, or the Father, saw Him by faith: by faith they saw Him who is invisible: "Behold! God is my salvation." *Isaiah* xii. 2. What! dost thou enjoy it already? Yea, He is become my salvation; and Simeon, who waited for the consolation of Israel, said: "Now lettest Thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation." *Luke* ii. 30. And this he said, who knew comfort and consolation: "As the

sufferings of Christ abound in us, so our consolation aboundeth by Christ." They were made partakers of his Divine nature, and sat together in heavenly places in Christ Jesus: and they that are in Him, and enjoy Him, who is the power of God, and the wisdom of God, know rest, and peace, and salvation, both from guilt and acts of sin. And the apostle, writing to the Hebrews, said that "When the Son of God had purged away our sins," (speaking of the atonement,) "He sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high:" he looked beyond sin, even to Him who had purged away sin: and this being purged from sin comes to be made manifest unto and in them that believe, by the Spirit of Jesus, who is Christ the Lord, the arm that brings salvation, who is the author of eternal salvation unto all them that believe: He begins it and perfects it in his day, for He works in the day, as He himself said: "My Father worketh hitherto, and I work." He destroys the work of the devil: this is his work in man, which they that are come to his day feel and see, even the handy-work of God in themselves: and his own works praise Him, for they only can. And they that are not come to the day, know not God's work in themselves: and they who have not yet heeded that in themselves which manifests all things reprovable, and which reproves, are not yet come to know the appearance of the glimmering of light or of the day in themselves, which the saints witness in themselves, even all them that are sanctified.

SECTION V.

WHERE THE DAY OF THE LORD APPEARS, HOW IT COMES, AND HOW IT IS TO BE LOOKED FOR.

They that gaze abroad cannot see the Lord's appearance, nor his day. He that knows not wherein it consists, knows not how to look for it, any more than the Jews, who were Scripture professors, and learned men, knew wherein the kingdom of God consisted. And no more do literal professors, whose faith is founded on the letter, and upon that which is visible, comprehend what I say. This day of the Lord, which is eternal brightness, appears in the heart; and the dawning and breaking forth of it is to be waited for there: and as it is witnessed it manifests evil, and brings it to light, and declares against that which is contrary to its own nature. Christ, the Covenant of light, the Gift of God, who is sent and anointed of God, to preach and to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord, and the day of vengeance of our God, proclaims it in the heart; for He comes not to bring peace but a sword; and his sword is the sword of the Spirit: it is that which divides and discerns the thoughts and intents of the heart, and discovers its desperate wickedness. In earthly hearts where He finds no faith, He kindles a fire and executes his vengeance; and his day unto such is a day of great perplexity: their spirits come to be wounded; their hearts become faint, and sorrow fills them, and trouble is known; and in this state He finds all who are unconverted; without faith; without hope; and therefore He takes away peace. Many have talked of the day of the Lord; but when it appeared they would not abide it; but would rather run to

any thing, than see the Lord of life appear to execute vengeance upon his enemies.

They who have not yet seen this day of the Lord's vengeance in themselves, have never seen the day of salvation. The prophet cried out: "Who may abide the day of His coming, and who shall stand when He appeareth?" And many have been eye-witnesses of the dreadful day of the Lord, which hath appeared in them, wherein all peace hath been hid from their eyes: and all that ever came to see that day of joy and gladness, first knew the terror and the terrible day of the Lord in themselves; therefore said the apostle: "We, knowing the terror of the Lord, persuade men." Now this day of the Lord cometh not with observation, "Lo here, or there;" thus the Pharisees looked that the kingdom of heaven should come, when Christ told them it was within them: and I say, if ever any do behold the bright shining forth of Eternal Life, they must wait in that which is of God, through which He will manifest his day and power in them; and as they keep their attention to that which manifests evil unto them, and shows them good, they will see how it appears; even as the lightning shineth from the east unto the west, so is the coming of the day of the Lord; and the eye which is spiritual sees it. The power and the glory of the Lord, are seen in the day which is pure and spiritual in the heart; and the eye which is pure discovers when it comes, where it comes, and how it comes; whilst it is hid from the vulture's eye, and from the eyes which cannot cease from sin.

Now the day of the Lord cometh not where the carnal mind might imagine, nor when man will; neither according to the carnal desire of the carnal heart; neither according to the evil eye that looks out, can it be seen.

And as the day of the Lord is a mystery, the Spirit of the Lord is the only discoverer of it; for none can know the things of God, but by the Spirit of God. And the day of the Lord, even his bright shining forth in the heart of man, is one of the glorious things of God, which only the Spirit of God doth give the knowledge of to man, and in man. The further men draw from the Light, the darker their hearts become; and their understandings being closed up, they cannot behold the Lord, neither his glory, which is revealed only by God's Holy Spirit; which Spirit is near man, though he see it not.

SECTION VI.

WHAT THE SPIRIT OF THE LORD, WHICH DISCOVERS THE THINGS OF GOD IS, AND HOW IT COMES TO BE RECEIVED.

The Spirit of the Lord is one with the Father, and the Son; (the Father, Word, and Spirit, are one;) it is life, purity, holiness, power, and strength; and neither mixes with, nor joins to any thing, but that which is of its own nature. It is an everlasting, living, active power, which changes not, but keeps its holiness for ever, and is unsearchable, unfathomable, and undeclarable, except as it makes itself out to them that believe, and opens itself, and sheds itself abroad in them that wait upon it: it is revealed in its own purity, manifest in its own power, received in its own light, and felt in its own virtue: the Living Father himself is manifested by it, and appears in his power, majesty, and excellency, through it to man, to the righteous and unrighteous: it is that which searcheth the

heart of man, and sees through all things, and makes manifest all things, even the hidden things of God, and also the secret works of darkness, and reproves for all iniquity, and convinces every man; and as the creature joins to it, it arises and shines forth more clearly, making itself known in its power and operation, checking, reproving, judging, and condemning actions which are past, and bringing them to remembrance. Now as there is a waiting upon the pure appearance of it, the mind being still and quiet, the creature comes to feel and sensibly to know his own condition; that he is alive to other things, and not to God, nor the things of his kingdom; and that he is in the fall and transgression: and as this operation of the Spirit is loved and obeyed, it draws towards itself, and converts the heart to the Lord out of unholiness, from under the dark power; and it brings that under, and so arises in its own strength. It is the discoverer of the mind of the Lord to the sons of men; for the Father by it makes known his mind to and in the creature, and discovers to them the things that are eternal in their true nature and property; which things are not seen by the natural eye, neither received by the spirit of the world; which never receives the things of God, nor the testimony of those who are in the life. Now all who receive this Spirit of Truth, must wait in that which is pure, unto which it joins; for it joins not to the corrupt man, nor to the will of the creature; but though it joins not to these, yet it is near, even to the natural man, the shining forth of its brightness, making evil manifest to be evil. Thus far it hath appeared to all men; but while the heart of man is taken up with sin, and joined to that which the Light reproves, he has not received the Spirit, nor become a possessor of

it; but it stands as at a distance off him, showing him his works of darkness, and letting him see to whom he is joined. Yet so far as a man denies himself, in acting or joining himself to that which the manifestation of God's Spirit in him reproves, so he comes, in some measure, to join to the Holy Spirit, and to receive it; and though working but weakly in him, it is yet purging out those things which it lets him see to be evil. Thus, in some measure, he feels in himself what to wait upon, where, and in what to wait; which is in that which gives every one a feeling of his own condition within, and opens his understanding.

SECTION VII.

HOW THE SPIRIT OF TRUTH OPERATES IN THOSE WHO ARE CONVINCED, AND YET HAVE NOT OBEYED.

Though God, has appeared by the manifestation of his Spirit to all, yet all have not received his Spirit: the evil-doer has not received it; "The morning is to him as the shadow of death:" he is still dead in trespasses and sins, and is that darkness in which the Light shines, which convinces him; for the Light shines in darkness. This may convince all who say that every one is not enlightened, and that the Spirit of God has not appeared to all. Good men have it: it is near to bad men, who are in darkness, and are darkness, as the Ephesians were in their unconverted state, *Ephes.* v. 8, who, by turning to the Spirit's manifestation, came to be made light in the Lord, who hath not left himself without a witness: but those who have not God's witness for theirs, have no

faith in God, nor assurance of salvation: for that which should bring assurance of salvation, assures their condemnation, and reveals sorrow to them: and though for a moment it may not be heard, or, through being disobeyed, may seem as dead; yet if the mind be still, and a man be sober and calm, and mind what he is doing, it appears again to him kindling his torment. And though a man may take up and perform something which is called religious, and some carnal outward ordinances, and pray in words, and read and talk of the Scriptures, and therein content himself for a time; yet the witness of God's Holy Spirit shows him his hypocrisy, and that he seeks a cover to shelter himself under in his disobedience, in order to be at ease in the flesh; which is all in vain, for there is no peace within; but the measure of God's Spirit still shows him, that he serves sin and follows his own will, and in this will brings forth a worship which is but will worship. Nay, if such a man should practice all those things which others who were in the Life performed and were accepted; yet this would not satisfy God any more than if he blessed an idol, or kissed Baal. And though a man should sin so far against the Light of Christ in his own conscience, and, in his rebellious will, persist in following the imaginations of his own heart, as to quench the Spirit and its motions, and become senseless to the things of God, and hardened in heart; so that the Light may be unto him as though there were no such thing; nevertheless, woe will be unto such; for though the Spirit strive long, yet being still disobeyed, the long-suffering of God comes to an end: the wrath of God will be kindled against him as a fire, which shall burn to the lowest hell; into which all the rebellious and stiff-necked shall be cast,

and have their portion for ever; because they have pleasure in unrighteousness, and have sold themselves to do wickedly, crucifying the appearance of God in themselves; which appearance, lives in the Fountain of Life; and though it be crucified by those who are out of the Life, nevertheless lives for ever in itself to be their condemnation eternally.

SECTION VIII.

HOW THE SPIRIT OF THE FATHER WORKS IN THOSE WHO ARE TURNED TO IT, AND HAVE TAKEN HEED TO ITS MANIFESTATIONS, AND ARE, IN SOME MEASURE, PARTAKERS OF ITS POWER.

"There are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit; there are differences of administrations, but the same Lord; and there are diversities of operations, but the same God who worketh all in all." Now the Spirit of Truth operates not only to convince and detect him that transgresses against its appearance, and to manifest evil which has been committed; but also, being turned to and waited in, it shows man when temptations and motions to sin arise; and as the creature is still and waits in that which manifests, and keeps his mind singly to it, it sheds abroad its power, and subdues those lusts which arise, and condemns the ground from whence they arise, and draws the mind after itself. It works secretly, and breathes forth its pure Life in him that waits in patience and stillness, not attending to the vain thoughts and imaginations that arise in his heart; but to the manifestation of the Spirit, which extinguishes vain desires, and creates, within, a hunger after being made a partaker of its purity, and of its nature; for

God, through the operation of the Eternal Spirit, sends forth his power which changes the heart, and divides betwixt a man and those lovers to which he hath joined; and makes a separation within; and carries him further from those things which the Spirit reproves, and leads him nearer unto God. Thus they that believe in the measure of God's Spirit, come to feel what repentance from dead works is.

There is nothing passes through the mind of him who quietly waits upon the Spirit in singleness of heart, but what he discerns; yet after the Spirit of Truth and its living testimony is, in some things, and in some measure felt, it may be a long time before there may be a clear discernment in the understanding, so that one can clearly discern its movings from all false motions, and high imaginations; and hence it is that hasty and forward minds follow vain motions which deceive them; and then they question all that the Spirit had made manifest to them before, which brings a vail over them; and the enemy lodges in the darkness which is come upon them: and as soon as any hearken to his voice, he presents motions for them to obey, and they are deceived by him. Therefore, all are to be watchful, that they may sensibly feel the difference between the pure motions and drawings of the Spirit, and the vain thoughts that arise out of the earthly heart; and when any thing arises which the Light does not bear witness to, it is not to be followed nor heeded; but a quiet, still waiting is to be observed, that things may be made clear to the understanding. For want of this many have run out, and have acted forwardly in their own wills, and have brought forth satan's work; and so have lost the true sense of that which should have guided their minds: such have followed the spirit of error, and

have caused the pure Spirit of the Lord to be evil spoken of.

But as there is a keeping back, and quietly waiting, and a keeping out of willing or running, and haste, the Spirit arises purely and stilly in the heart, and gives perfect evidence and full testimony of itself; so that there need be no doubting nor questioning of its motion; for it shows forth itself with full assurance of its own will: and when this is clearly seen and felt, let all reasoning be kept under, and all questioning kept out, and give not way to temptation; and that which moves of the Lord of life will carry through, by its own operation and power, to accomplish the will of God: and so, being obedient, peace will be received, and strength will be renewed; for as any are brought to submit to the will of God, and to obey, by virtue of his own power, that which is contrary to God's Spirit in them, loses its strength; but by disobedience to the pure motion of God's Holy Spirit, after it is known, the enemy is strengthened, and that which is of the flesh nourished; and the Spirit which would give strength, if submitted to, is quenched; yet the Spirit in itself never loseth its purity, but will bear its pure witness.

Thus the diversity of the operation of the Spirit is known; and as it is hearkened unto, obeyed, loved, and believed in, it puts forth its pure power, and gives strength, and seals peace to the obedient; but disobeyed and resisted, it judges, reproves, and seals condemnation to the disobedient. It causes the good ground to bring forth fruit unto God; and in the cursed ground it kindles a fire that shall not be quenched; but, as there is a submission to its pure operation, it burns up and destroys that which hinders the growth of the seed; and it purges the hearts of them that have confidence in it,

from all filthiness, both of flesh and spirit; and works the creature into its own frame and nature; and fashions and moulds all that are in the faith, into the image of the Father; and so the Father's love comes to be shed abroad in their hearts: and as wrath and condemnation were revealed through the Spirit, so now the peace of God is enjoyed, and his consolation shed abroad largely by it; in which there is pure rejoicing for ever.

SECTION IX.

TO WHOM THE SPIRIT BEARS WITNESS AND SEALS ASSURANCE OF THE FATHER'S LOVE; AND OF JUSTIFICATION WITH GOD.

None have the witness of God's Spirit, bearing witness to them and in them, who have not believed in Christ "the true Light, that lighteth every man that cometh into the world," whose words are spirit and life; and by whom the new creature is formed in them that believe, and who makes his power manifest unto such: for all power in heaven and in earth is committed unto Him, who is the Light of men; and nothing was created without Him, neither is any turned from sin but by Him; without Him is death—in Him is Life. And none but those that are born of the Light, can have the Spirit of Christ to bear witness unto them; for only they that are born of the Spirit, and walk after the Spirit, are justified by the Spirit of the Lord; for the assurance of his love is not made manifest to his enemies, but unto them that are born in his image—in his own likeness and nature; to the Holy Seed which is heir of the promise, which knows the living hope that purifies the heart, and brings the answer of a good conscience; to them that wit-

ness the washing of regeneration, having known in themselves the clean water poured forth upon them, which hath taken away the stains and defilements; for where these are not washed out, and where the heart is not cleansed, and where that is not believed in, in which God's all-sufficiency is felt, and his power made manifest, there the assurance of the Father's love in the heart cannot be; neither does his Spirit assure the justification of such; but on the contrary, where sin remains unsubdued, the Spirit of the Father condemns the sin and the creature which is joined to it, and becomes one with it. For no sin is brought forth, but there is an assenting to the instigation of the devil: for when a temptation arises, either within or without, and there is a resisting and a striving against it for a time, yet if the heart be not kept close to the Spirit, the enemy will enter and captivate the understanding; then there will be an agreeing with, and a joining to the adversary. And the Spirit will pronounce sentence of condemnation upon him who joins to the wicked one. And he, who has consented to drink his cup, must drink the cup of the indignation of the Lord, and bear the stroke of Divine justice, and lie in patience under it, till that be cut down which hath joined in with the deceit; before there can be remission of transgression, or the creature justified in the sight of God. For sin is not blotted out of the book of God's remembrance till it be repented of, and turned from; neither doth the creature stand clear in the sight of God, when God condemns in righteous judgment, which the Light in every one's conscience shall answer to.

Now, "whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin; for his Seed remaineth in him," which is Life; and as the creature joins to that Seed

which is heir of the kingdom, and of the crown immortal, he comes to be made partaker of its virtue and operation; which Seed is Christ, to whom all power is committed; and who, by his power, as it is believed in, limits the seed of the serpent, and weakens his strength in the creature, and disannuls the covenant which he has made with death. And as the creature comes to be delivered from corruption, and the new man comes to live, the new creature, which is born of God, comes to be framed and fashioned in the image of the Father; and the Father's love is manifested to him and in him, and he hath the assurance in himself. He that is begotten of the Father in Christ the Seed, through the Spirit, he and he alone, comes to feel the Father's love made manifest in him, and is justified in the sight of the Father; and hath His assurance and evidence near him and in him. And when the adversary comes to tempt and assault, and would raise up doubts in the mind of him that hath this evidence, it is near to assure him that he is in the love of God.

Blessed and happy are all they that have waited for, and have felt these things, and who are witnesses of them; for flesh and blood hath not revealed them.

Now let every man that reads this prove himself and try himself, whether he be in the faith or not, and whether he have the evidence that he is born of the Spirit or not, and knows a birth that sins not; because the Seed remains in him who is kept by the Power, that the evil one toucheth him not; and so he is kept alive unto Him who hath brought him to life, and hath given him to drink of the cup of salvation; which nourisheth up, unto eternal life, all those who continue in the faith.

SECTION X.

WHAT THE FREE GRACE OF GOD IS; HOW FAR IT IS A SUFFICIENT TEACHER; TO WHOM IT HAS APPEARED, AND WHERE ALL ARE TO WAIT TO RECEIVE IT.

The Grace of God is his free gift; it is the appearance of Christ; it is that through which God makes known his will, and by which He teaches us. He reveals his saving health through it to those who are taught by it: and those who are taught by it, are built up in the Truth through it, and become a habitation for God. No man can do any thing to purchase it; none need say, where can I get it, or how may I know its teachings? It is near all, it is in all, it has appeared to all; it shows ungodliness in the heart of man by its brightness; yea, it shows all men the motions to sin; it draws the hearts of men from them; it shows the lusts of the heart and mind, the lust of the eye, and the pride of life; it never joins to sin: nothing can alter its purity or property; and though some that turned to it, have again turned from it, and may turn in themselves to wantonness; yet it still keeps its purity and reproves their wantonness.

Many have been talkers of it in this professing age, who have neither known of what they spoke, nor have informed the minds of men where it was to be waited for, nor how it might be known, nor how, nor what the operation of it was; but have cried up, in their own imaginations: "We are justified by His free grace from all sin, past, present, and to come;" and, in this conceit, thousands have been led into the pit of darkness, imagining that they were justified by the free grace of Christ, whilst they were out of the fear of God, which it would have taught them; and whilst they heeded not this grace, but got into

conceiteded, carelesness, and presumption; and so pretended justification while they were the servants of sin and bond-slaves to corruption. All you that have been preaching free grace in words; and now when God has given them that have waited upon Him, an understanding to declare the thing itself, that you have spoken of, which you now cry is not a sufficient teacher, let me ask you a question: Is that which teacheth to deny ungodliness not a sufficient Teacher? If it be not, why did the apostles commend the believers to the word of His grace, which was able to save their souls? *Acts* xx. 32. *James* i. 21. Is not that which is able to save the soul a sufficient Teacher?

Seeing then that God's free grace, which is his pure appearance, has thus manifested itself; or that God through it shows sin, and leads from it; and that God hath so loved the world as that He sent his Son into the world, who was and is the Light of the world, and hath shed abroad his grace and made it appear to all; and all that wait upon it, come to be taught by it and feel its assurance, therefore all are without excuse. Wait therefore in that which has appeared in thee: for that which shows the lust and thoughts and motions to sin is God's gift, God's grace, and is sufficient; and though all men in the world should say it is not, yet this would not make thy faith void, neither mine who have received it; because we have the witness of our faith in ourselves, which gives pure and perfect feeling of the operation of the Spirit of the Lord; which saves all them that believe in it out of sin, and gives them dominion over it.

SECTION XI.

WHETHER THERE BE A DISTINCTION IN GRACE OR NOT. IT IS NOT SEPARATE FROM CHRIST. AN EXHORTATION TO THOSE WHO LONG FOR HIS APPEARING, &C.

Peoples' minds have been confounded by distinctions made by those whose wisdom is below the wisdom of God; and who say that there is a twofold grace. First, that which they call common, which they say has appeared to all. And Secondly, That which they call special and saving, which they say has appeared to the saints.

By giving heed to these distinctions, many years ago, I went from the appearance of the Light in myself, to hearken to something at a distance from me; and not heeding that which was at home and near, because it was called common and insufficient, I lost myself and my guide; yet after many years profession, I was made to go back again to that which was called common and insufficient, before I found favour with the Lord, or felt his living power again.

The First they ground upon the letter where it is said: "He causeth the sun to rise on the evil and on the good; and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust" and "In Him we live and move and have our being;" and they say by this we discover gross sins.

The Second, which they call special, they say, is that by which the saints are saved and established in righteousness, and receive remission of sins.

Now He who causeth the sun to rise, and the rain to fall; and giveth health and strength to all things in the outward and visible creation, who discovers to man his gross sins, is the same who is the Life of the soul, who sanctifies, puri-

fies and saves those who believe. The same Power which upholds the natural man, upholds the spiritual man. The same Power (I do not say the same measure of it) by which all things visible subsist in their stations, preserves all that believe and are quickened by Him, who is the Power of God. The same Power which discovers the dark places of the horrible pit, leads all that believe in it unto the land of the living. The same Grace which discovers open sins, discovers also secret and hidden ones; yet it shines less in those who are in unbelief, because the vail is thick and the clouds are many upon them: but in them that believe in this Grace, it rends the vail, and scatters the clouds, and breaks forth in its brightness.

That this grace has in some measure appeared to all men, is a truth which shall be witnessed to by the whoe earth in the day of the Lord's appearing, and is now witnessed to by all the children of Light, who believe; therefore all are left without excuse. And herein is the wonderful love of God to all mankind made manifest, and all that turn to his grace will see He hath long waited to be gracious, that all mankind might be made partakers of his bounty, love, mercy, favonr and free grace. Therefore, in dear love unto all upon the face of the earth where this may come, I write this, that they also may be partakers with me of the free love and grace of God, bywhich I am saved, and know the walls which are salvation, and the gates which are praise; which the saints are entered in at, and are compassed about with.

When I speak of the sufficiency of Grace, and say that it is a sufficient Teacher, I do not speak of it as distinct from Christ; * nor as of a thing separate from the Power of God, but as one

* Nor as distinct from the Spirit, see Sect. vi. vii. EDITOR.

with it and with Him from whence it comes: for as He is salvation itself, so the grace of God by which He manifests Himself, and his salvation, to them that believe, are of the same nature. For where the appearance and presence of Christ are manifest, there is his power manifest, either to condemnation or salvation. And though his appearance is one in itself, yet to them that have marred his countenance and pierced Him, his presence always has been, and will be very dreadful and terrible; but to them that have longed for Him, and believe in Him, and have continued with Him, and suffered with Him; his appearance will be sweet and glorious.

O! that all who long after Him, may wait for Him in patience, in that wherein He will appear; and they shall see Him, the sight of whom will be a recompence for all their longing, thirsting, desiring, and waiting; which will be taken away when He appears, who maketh glad the heart; who lifteth up the Light of his countenance, and maketh whole those whose hearts have been broken for Him. Therefore, all wait, and think not the time long; keep your minds to his grace, which is his appearance, and you will feel and see Him, and be satisfied, and enabled to say: "This is our God; we have waited for Him, and He will save us. This is the Lord; we have waited for Him, we will be glad and rejoice in his salvation."

But, though God in his everlasting love to the sons of men, has followed them, and called to them to return; yet that nature which is in man, which has transgressed against the Life, always resists the drawing of the Lord; and is not subject to the law of God, nor to the grace of God which teacheth to deny all ungodliness and worldly lusts, that have compassed

the creature about as a thick cloud, till there be a listening to that which showeth ungodliness, which has power in itself; for none have power, neither dominion, of themselves, over that which leads into transgression. Therefore, though God hath appeared in his pure and perfect grace unto all men, yet all men have not received grace: for though the Lord offers his gift that the creature may receive it, and partake of its virtue and operation; yet while that has preeminence in man which is contrary to grace, that will never receive it; because grace is contrary to that which opposes, which it mortifies, and takes its life away, and slays the enmity. Therefore all must be still and quiet, that they may feel that which receiveth grace, raised above the corruptible thoughts and desires of the carnal mind.

Many who talk of free grace, put no difference betwixt the precious and the vile; but set people upon doing and working, who are in the enmity, and curse, and in death; and thus they have brought forth dead works, notwithstanding all their performances. They being dead to the life of God, another acts in them; even he who hath the power of death, which is the devil. And not knowing that which is precious in themselves, they cannot minister unto that which is precious in others, but are ministers of death.

Now though all have not received grace, so as to be saved from the committing of sin, the fault is not in God; neither is the fault in grace, "which hath appeared to all men;" neither is it because of its imbecility and weakness; but because it is not hearkened unto, and waited on and believed in, received and obeyed. For this is an eternal truth, which shall stand for ever: The least measure of the grace of

God has power in itself, to save man from committing that evil or sin, which it shows him; and as it is received, the power is more and more manifested, wherein all that believe come to be preserved out of evil.

There is no variation or change in the gift of God, but as it worketh upon different objects: faith and unbelief are two different things, as light and darkness are different: and therefore, the word of God's grace is the savour of life unto life, to them that believe; and is the savour of death unto death, to them that are in unbelief; who indeed are dead while they live. Here is the same grace but difference of operation. The Lord killeth and maketh alive; yet it is the same Lord. The Spirit convinceth of sin, and reproveth for sin; and also consoles and comforts: here is diversity of operations yet the same Spirit.

And though the careless and those who believe not, say: "We feel no power nor sufficiency in grace to save us from sin;" this makes not void the confidence of those who have received it and know its power, which hath given them power to do the will of God. Though unbelievers, who are in the alienation, say: "there is no beauty, neither form nor comliness, in Christ;" this makes not his glory void, who is the express image of the Father, full of grace and truth. The disciples, who were in the faith saw his glory, and bore record of Him; and the Pharisees, who were in unbelief, said: "He hath a devil."

Paul, who was a minister of the word of reconciliation, was buffetted by the messenger of satan; and he prayed God thrice for this cause; and this answer was given him: "My grace is sufficient for thee." So this is evident to all understandings, which are opened by the Lord;

that that which showed him the buffetings of satan's messenger, was sufficient to preserve him. And so it is, for all who keep singly to it, sufficient to show ungodliness by its purity; and to lead from worldly lusts, and to teach the will of God, and to live godly in this present world by its power. This testimony I bear to it, and of it; even of what I have felt, tasted, and handled of its sufficiency and virtue, and of the power of its operation, for the information of them that thirst after the Lord; and for the opposition of the gainsayers and opposers of it; which testimony I commend to that of God in every man; and that will bear me witness in the day of God, when all hearts shall be opened, and all falsehood and truth be made manifest.

SECTION XII.

A WORD TO THE WISE MEN OF THIS WORLD, WHO ARE GLORYING IN THE SOUND OF WORDS, AND ARE WORSHIPING OUTWARD APPEARANCES; AND TO ALL LITERAL PROFESSORS WHO THINK TO SEARCH INTO THE DEEP THINGS OF GOD; AND TO WORSHIP GOD ARIGHT BY THEIR NATURAL WISDOM, LEARNING, PARTS, AND STUDY.

God is shedding abroad his power and glory, and making it to flow forth to his little ones, by which you are all weighed—all your parts, tongues, languages, interpretations, significations, and wisdom; which are but natural. For although there are many languages, and each has an interpretation, and signification, they are all too short to declare the life, the immeasurable being of eternal life: your tongues, and the signification of all tongues, cannot know the mind of the Spirit; neither can you know the origin of eternal salvation by all these. But

not knowing the signification of the living, Eternal Spirit in yourselves, you invent, study, devise, form, and frame things in your carnal minds; and have filled the world with your dark, muddy conceptions; and have led people from seeking after the wisdom of the living God, which is from above; which was before your tongues and languages were; and they have sucked in your conceptions, and distinctions, and your devised fables, and your imagined worship; so that many have lost the sense of any thing of God in themselves to guide them. It is lamentable to see how people are gone out of the pure simplicity which is in Christ, into subtlety and deceit; and have become full of that, which must be all poured out as water, before they come to the least measure of God's true and saving knowledge. O! a dreadful day is come upon many; and it lingers not, but will come quickly as a thief upon you, who have taken away the key of knowledge, and given people that which will not open: you, and them that follow you, will be shut out together as fools, though you count yourselves wise; your wisdom will perish, and your honour will be laid in the dust.

And you, literal professors, who have got the Scripture into your heads, and into your carnal minds to talk of; you have taken up, and are exalting a visible shadowy practice, and you neglect the Life, and are making idols of those things which were but a figure and representation in their purest time; you, like the Pharisees, are limiting the Lord; that if He will not appear to you in those things which you have prescribed unto yourselves from the letter, you cannot receive Him. May the Lord open your understandings, that you may see yourselves; and how frothy, vain, and light you are: one with the

world in the very ground; pretending liberty in Christ, when you may see that you are servants to corruption, and to many noisome lusts.

Again, what are all outward appearances, but as a curtain, or vail, or shadow, in respect to Christ, God's righteousness within; but you are filled so full of your apprehensions of His righteousness at a distance, that you have forgotten all at home: his righteousness will not be a cloak for your self-righteousness, and unrighteousness. And if Christ be not formed in you, and do not live in you, and act in you, and work his work in you, you are in self-righteousness. A talk of imputation will not save you, while you are not in that capacity, nature, and faith, unto which his righteousness is imputed. Do you not see your land grow barren, your profession dry, and your worship dead? When will ye seek after that which endures for ever? I pity you who have had breathings after God, and have set down at ease in that which is not eternal. Be warned, return home, consider, see what corruption you now have power over, which once had power over you. Do you rest in that faith that you shall never be cleansed here? It is rather unbelief; it is not the faith of God's elect, by which they are sanctified, and overcome the wicked one in themselves, by the power of Christ; and are redeemed from the bondage of corruption to serve Him in the Spirit of God, in which the sons are made free from sin, from the act and guilt, and become the temples of the Holy Ghost. Consider how far you are from this, who are yet temples of uncleanness. Repent, and mind that which empties you of your thoughts and conceitedness, that you may know poverty of spirit; that the kingdom of God may come unto you, and be yours in possession.

This is the true state of many of you; own it

and repent; that if it be possible you may find a door of mercy opened unto you; and that you may enter in thereat. For it is not setting up and conforming to a visible practice without, that will justify; while that which is in the transgression, and has disobeyed the Light in the conscience is a head in you: that will not recommend you to God; neither can you have any access to God, or acceptance with Him in that state: you must come to the Rock before you know any thing that will endure; "which Rock is Christ." This you must all come to before you can know God's salvation, or redemption in yourselves, or have the witness of God's Holy Spirit; without which there is neither true zeal, nor evidence, nor asurance of the love of God enjoyed.

The time of restoration is come, and many are restored again into God's covenant; and are delivered out of the jaws of death; and feel Him who is the healer of breaches, to be the restorer of desolate places. But all must come to see the place made desolate, wherein the wild nature lodges, before they come to have a share in the restoration. Come then off these barren mountains where you are feeding, to Christ the Life of men, who hath enlightened you, that you may feel His mind in yourselves; or you will still err for lack of knowledge, and perish for want of understanding, and so lay down your heads in sorrow.

SECTION XIII.

The kingdom of God and Christ declared.

The Lord hath prepared his throne in the heavens; and his kingdom ruleth over all. His dominion, is an everlasting dominion; He is a spirit; his kingdom is spiritual: He is immortal; his kingdom is so: He is Light; his dwelling-place is so: therein is no uncleanness, nor ever shall be: it is eternally glorious; a quiet habitation: it is unsearchable and undeclarable; in it all who believe come to enjoy Him, who is the fulness of all things; whether visible or invisible; who is, eternally, blessedness itself; who makes all that believe in Him to partake of his kingdom, grace, power, dignity, dominion, and celestial glory. But these things are hid from the world; from them that are not redeemed from the earth.

When Christ taught them that followed Him, He exhorted them to "Seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness," *Matt.* vi. 33. even, whilst they were in the body; and He said to the Pharisees: "The kingdom of God is within you." Some may say, Need we seek that which is in us? Yea, It is like treasure hid in a field: it is like a grain of mustard seed among many great seeds, which is not easily found: it is like a piece of silver lost in the house among much rubbish; till that be swept away it will not be found: all must dig deep, search narrowly, and sweep clean before they find it: for although Christ said to the Pharisees: "The kingdom of God is within you," He did not say that they were possessors of it: but to the disciples whom He taught to pray in faith, "Thy kingdom come," He said: "Blessed be ye poor for yours is the the kingdom of God." *Luke* vi. 22. They had

seen it and were possessors of it. And He also said unto them: "There be some of them that stand here, which shall not taste of death, till they have seen the kingdom of God come with power." *Mark* ix. 1. And his words were fulfilled; and they declared what they had felt, and said: "The kingdom of God is not in word but in power." And Paul, writing to the Romans, who were made partakers of the same power and kingdom, said: "The kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteousness, and peace, and joy, in the Holy Ghost." *Rom.* xvi. 17. And to the Colossians, who had waited for and believed in it, he said: "The Father hath made us meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints in Light, who hath delivered us from the power of darkness, and hath translated us into the kingdom of his dear Son." And to the Hebrews He saith: "We who have believed do enter into rest." And these things were witnessed whilst in the body, and felt within by the seed immortal, by them that witnessed the birth immortal to live in them. And all that ever come to see the kingdom of God, which is spiritual, must wait in the Spirit, that so God and his kingdom, and the things of his kingdom, may be felt, and seen, and enjoyed, which is glorious.

The saints looked not after any other glory, but that which stood in eternal life. And the city they sought after, was that which God is the maker and builder of; and they looked for and waited to receive of his power, in which the kingdom standeth in this life; and to know and enjoy his eternal dominion and authority: I do not say the full weight of glory, which is that which all his saints in measure witness, and in due time come to enjoy through faith. For by faith they come to see Him who is invisible; and

the things of his kingdom which is invisible, spiritual, and eternal.

The kingdom of God is come nigh unto many, and his power; and the salvation of Christ is seen by many. Honour and praise unto Him everlastingly, who is the only potentate; that puts all authority under his feet, that God may be all in all! But every one must come to feel the kingdom first in Himself, which is as a little grain; and believe in it before he can know wherein it consists. And after it is in some measure known; this is still far short of the eternal weight of glory: yet he that believes is entered into rest, and made partaker of the heavenly gift, power, and grace, which is glorious, and witnesses a heavenly place in Christ Jesus; but there nevertheless remain many enemies to be subdued, and much of the heavenly habitation, which they see not, to be revealed; as there is an abiding in the power of God, in which the kingdom stands. For Israel, the true type, after they had passed over Jordan, and had taken Jericho and Ai, and had made an enterance into the land, had many enemies remaining to be subdued; and there was much of the land that they were not made possessors of for long after: even so, after there is an enterance made into the true rest, and some possession of it enjoyed, there are yet many enemies to be subdued; and much more of the heavenly inheritance to be enjoyed by them that stand in the Power, which gives dominion over sin and the devil, hell and the grave; and these come to be made partakers of God, and receive, in due time, the crown immortal.

And so to conclude, I say unto all who are longing after God, and waiting to feel his power: Keep in your minds to the pure measure of God's Holy Spirit, and therein wait to see his kingdom,

and his dominion, and to be made partakers of it, and of Him, who is glorified with the Father, in his kingdom, with the glory He had with the Father before the world began: for whosoever comes to enjoy the kingdom of glory, which fades not away, is eternally happy.

CHAPTER II.

ABRIDGED SELECTIONS FROM A WORK ENTITLED: "THE GLORY OF THE TRUE CHURCH DISCOVERED," &c.

TO THE READER.

God, in his great wisdom, has in all ages manifested his will to his servants; and, in every generation, He has shown unto them how He would be worshiped: and they that have been obedient to that which has been made manifest, have, in every age, found acceptance with the Lord; and have had the peace of God in their hearts. After man had transgressed against the will of God, and broken his covenant, blindness came upon him; and he lusted after earthly things; and the image of God, in which he was created was lost: yet such was the love of God towards man, that He did not utterly cast him off for ever; but followed him to draw him back again, out of transgression into unity with Himself. And when man was gone into darkness, the Lord stooped so low as to come near him and to the state he was in: and He made a covenant with him when his heart was outward, upon outward things; and gave him out-

ward commands, statutes, and ordinances, that he might worship therein; which were shadows and types of some better things to come.

These were the ordinances of the first Covenant, which was to be changed; but they typified more heavenly things, which were to be revealed in due time; and when Christ, the Seed came, who restores all that believe unto God, they had an end and passed away; for God did more clearly manifest Himself in the earth, through his Son, who had the will of the Father, and declared it; who put an end to the shadows, and blotted out the handwriting of ordinances, consisting in types and figures, and offered Himself on the cross, a propitiation for the sins of the whole world. And those who believed in Christ and received Him, came to be the sons of God, and declared the mind of God as it was revealed to them, and the Spirit gave them utterance. And they became of one heart and mind, and worshiped God with one accord, in the Spirit and power of the Father; and separated from the Jewish worship, and the form thereof, and met together in the power of God, and glorified Him, and spoke of the things of his kingdom freely, to all that waited for it. But soon after the mystery of godliness was revealed, the mystery of iniquity began to work, and opposed the work of the Lord; yet transformed itself into the similitude, outward appearance, and form of righteousness, and lived in the flesh; and there began to be an apostacy and deviation from that glory and power which once was; and antichrist wrought with signs and lying wonders, and got the words of the righteous, but hated the life and power of godliness, and them that appeared in it. Then they that were under the government of antichrist hated the reign of Christ, and said in

their hearts: "we will not have Him to rule over us," though in words they confessed Him. And they persecuted the true Church, and drove it into the wilderness; and set up imitations, inventions, traditions, and vain customs, which they called apostolical and holy institutions; but which are contrary to the primitive institutions and ordinances of Christianity.

I have thus led thee briefly through divers ages and times, to single out the origin and beginning of those things, which are now accounted as holy institutions; and to show who were the first ordainers of them, betwixt the days of the apostles and the present day. Thou mayst see, in the following treatise, the state and glory of the true Church before the apostacy, and her state during the apostacy; how she fled into the wilderness; and how mystery Babylon was raised, and the false church called herself visible. Many of her doctrines and practices, which are contrary to the primitive Church, are also here discovered, whereby thou mayst come to see a difference betwixt the ordinances of the true Church, and the traditions and inventions of the false church; which are too much contended for in this day, by those who say they are come to the true reformation, according to the primitive times; but whose practices, as thou comparest them with those of the primitive times, thou wilt see to be quite contrary, and to be but as the smoke, and that which darkened the air, and clouded people's understandings, and led them into ignorance and darkness, and prevented their discovering the way of Truth. But the Lord is arisen; and that which has got up in the apostacy is seen and laid open to the view of all, that they may depart out of the things which are but the inventions and tradi-

tions of men; and in which Eternal Life is not to be had.

Read with meekness, and in that which is spiritual in thyself, through which the things of God are made manifest; for with that I have unity: and, as thou livest and walkest in it, I bid thee farewell.

F. HOWGILL.

SECTION I.

THE STATE OF THE TRUE CHURCH, FROM THE MANIFESTATION OF CHRIST IN THE FLESH, TO THE END OF THE APOSTLE'S DAYS, BRIEFLY DISCOVERED.

God, according to his determinate will and everlasting counsel, in the fulness of time, sent his only begotten Son into the world, to be the Light of the world, a Leader to the people, and a propitiation for the sins of the whole world. He obeyed the will of the Father in all things, according as it was testified of Him by Moses and the prophets, and as it was said by David concerning Him: "In the volume of the book it is written of Me, I come to do thy will, O God!" *Psalm* xl. 7. He fulfilled all righteousness, and ended all the types, figures, shadows, and worship of the first covenant, as the apostle testifies of Him, *Heb.* vii. 21. The law and the priesthood were changed, which were but figures and shadows of good things to come, and were faulty, and did not make the comers thereunto perfect as pertaining to the conscience; but the bringing in of a better hope and covenant did, to wit, the covenant of life and peace; which the prophets, by the spirit, had testified of, from Moses to Samuel, and till John; and John likewise bore testimony of Him who is "the Lamb of God" and "taketh away the sins of the world." *John* i. 29, 36.

And now He being come who was not made "after the law of a carnal commandment," as were Aaron and the rest of the priests under the

law, but after "the power of an endless life," and "having offered up Himself once for all," for the perfecting of them that are sanctified, He put an end to all the offerings of the first covenant. *Heb.* x. 14. He fulfilled all things which the prophets foretold of Him; and his works testified that He was the Son of God. He preached the word of the Kingdom, and declared against and reproved them who stuck behind in the figures, types, and shadows; and said: "Ye will not come unto Me that ye may have life," "I am the bread of life." He came to fulfil the law and all righteousness, and to publish the word of faith, which did not make void, but established the Law.

He said: "While ye have the Light, believe in the Light; that ye may become children of the Light." This He spoke to the Pharisees, who had the law and the prophets, and were acting in the types and figures, which are shadows of the thing itself, but not the very thing; but He preached the very thing, the word of the kingdom, of power, and of life; and many who heard his voice, who could not be made alive by exercising themselves in the ordinances, were quickened by it in their hearts and minds, and so came to live; and He chose unto Himself disciples, and sent them to preach repentance; and charged them to begin at Jerusalem. Afterwards He also sent out his disciples and gave them a commandment to preach unto all nations, and disciple or make converts of all in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. He gave power unto them to cast out devils, and work miracles.

These, after a season, prophesied the word of the kingdom, and received gifts from the Holy Ghost for the work of the ministry. They preached not up the ordinances of the first

covenant, but Christ the everlasting Covenant, the power of God, and the wisdom of God, for the remission of sins; and they declared the Word of faith in the mouth and in the heart, to bring people to believe in Him who is the Light of the world, and lighteth every man that cometh into the world; and many both of the Jews and gentiles believed; and they met together at certain places. And the several congregations were all one body, whereof Christ, the life, was the head; of whose power they had tasted. And when they met together, they exhorted and admonished one another; and did and might administer to the edification, building up, and comforting one of another in the most holy faith, which gave them victory over sin; which faith was wrought in them by hearing the Word that was nigh them, in the mouth and in the heart, which was the Word of consolation that was in the beginning.

They that believed the Gospel, grew up into great enjoyments and attainments in the righteous life of Christ; and though they first knew the ministration of condemnation, and sentence of death, yet afterwards they came to know the ministration of the Spirit, bearing witness that they were the sons of God: they were made heirs according to the promise, and joint-heirs with Christ, in the kingdom which is immortal.

They that were sent out, who had received freely of the Father, of Christ, and of the Spirit, ministered freely, without making any covenants or enquiries after worldly revenues, but went from city to city preaching the Gospel. So that we read of no compulsion, or forcing maintenance from any of the cities, whether they believed or not. The Father took care of such harvestmen; and what they received was

given freely, and there was no complaint; but their care was not to make the Gospel of Christ burdensome or chargeable, but rather that their hands should minister unto their necessities. *Acts* xviii. 3.

SECTION II.

OF THE ENTERING IN OF THE APOSTACY, AND DECLENSION FROM PURITY OF DOCTRINE, WORSHIP, AND PRACTICE, FROM THAT TIME TO THE PRESENT TIME.

Christ said: "Beware of false prophets which come to you in sheeps clothing; but inwardly they are ravening wolves: ye shall know them by their fruits;" *Matt.* vii. 15, 16; and, "many false prophets shall arise and deceive many." This was fulfilled in the age of the disciples. John testified: "Little children, it is the last time; and as ye have heard that antichrist should come, even now are there many antichrists, whereby we know that it is the last time; they went out from us but they were not of us." 1 *John* ii. 18, 19. And Peter said: "False teachers should arise, who should bring in damnable heresies." 2 *Pet.* ii. 1. And Paul wrote to Timothy: "That the Spirit spoke expressly, that, in the latter times, some should depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of devils; speaking lies in hypocrisy; forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats;" 1 *Tim.* iv. 1, 2; who were enemies to the cross of Christ. These went out into the world; and this is upwards of 1400 years ago. Then the mystery of iniquity began to work: they went out and preached Christ in words, but denied the cross, and spoke things they ought not for filthy lucre's sake. Then

was the beginning of the hirelings that cared not for the flock: they held the form, but denied the power, for they were out of the power and out of that which mortifies the deeds of the flesh; and they spread themselves over nations, kindreds, tongues, and people, which have now got the name of a church; and John said: "these were the waters upon which he saw mystery Babylon sit; and she and all her children turned against the free woman, the Lamb's wife, and made her flee into the wilderness for a time, times, and half a time; and mystery Babylon reached forth her golden cup full of abominations, and claimed Christ to be her husband, and sat as a queen, and the kings of the earth drank of her cup, and were bewitched by her sorceries. Then all nations becoming as waters, and unstable, being drunk with the abominations of this cup, staggered up and down, being out of the power of Christ which should have stablished them. Then a great beast arose out of these waters, with seven heads and ten horns; and these apostatised ministers, who preached for filthy lucre, and those that believed them, took shelter under the beast, and cried: "who is able to make war with the beast?" And the kings of the earth gave their strength to him; and the false church got upon him, and rides upon him, and hath done so these many years; and she hath travelled in the greatness of his strength; calling herself by the free woman's name, and putting on her outward attire, she saith I am she; and thus has deceived the nations. Then began laws to be made about religion; then began compelling in matters of conscience, which were contrary to the practice of the true Church.

Now Rome look to thy beginning and view thy antiquity. If nations, kindreds, tongues,

and people have drunk of the cup of mystery Babylon since John's days, then what cause hast thou to boast of antiquity and universality? that sooner proves thee to be the harlot than the true Church; for if nations, kindreds, tongues, and people, universally, be the waters that she sits upon, and the beast rose out of the waters; read thyself and clear thyself of the apostacy if thou canst. Seeing John saw the true Church, the woman clothed with the Sun, who brought forth the man child, flee into the wilderness, what cause hast thou to boast of visibility or universality? When wast thou in the wilderness? if thy church has not been there, then it demonstrates that thy church is not the woman clothed with the sun; for she did fly into the wilderness as with the wings of an eagle.

If the beast made war with all that bore not his image, then we have thee as in a press, betwixt us and the apostles time; for no such compelling was in the true Church. Instance any such thing if thou canst, from their writings; where were men and women killed by the sword, or by lingering torments, in their time? Such practices have been no where found in any other church but in thee, and in those who, at the best, are but in thy suburbs. And it is known that thy church hath been upheld, more by force and cruelty than by sound doctrine; though thou mayst say, "I am clear, I persecute none to death, I have a beast to ride upon, who will make war for my city, and compel to my worship and institutions. I will cry him up for the higher power and say, whosoever resists this, resists the ordinance of God; and he will compel and destroy for me, and call me the holy church: so I shall be clear?"

Thus it is clear that the church of Rome is in

the apostacy; and this is also evident by her practices for

First. Her ministers are not in accordance with the ministers of Christ, in the primitive times; their call is not such, neither their practice. The ministers of Christ were made ministers by the Holy Ghost; but hers are made by human ordination and study, &c.

Secondly. The ministers of Christ preached the Gospel freely; but she has brought in tithes from Judaism for the maintenance of her priests; and has also invented oblations, obventions, and mortuaries to maintain her ministers by.

Thirdly. The ministers of Christ did not compel any by force to maintain them, whether they received their doctrine or not; but she compels all wherever she has power, making what she calls the Gospel chargeable.

Fourthly. * Her unbloody sacrifice of the mass is of no benefit at all; for where no shedding of blood is, there is no remission. *Heb.* ix. 22; therefore her sacrifice is abominable, and an idol.

Fifthly. Her liturgy and prayers in a tongue

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* That the sacrifice of the mass is entirely useless, must be obvious to all who receive the doctrine of the apostles: "By ONE OFFERING Christ hath perfected for ever all them that are sanctified." *Heb.* x. 14. "CHRIST is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but for the sins of the whole world." 1 *John* ii. 2. "There remaineth no more sacrifice for sins." *Heb.* x. 26. From these doctrines the inefficacy of penances is also obvious; and it is evident that a dependance upon them and masses for expiation from sin, and for acceptance with God is idolatrous; because those who trust in them look to other objects for propitiation for their sins and acceptance with God, than the One which God hath set forth, which is Christ: *Rom.* iii. 25. by whom alone we have access to the Father, *John.* xiv. 6.

unknown to the congregations is an unprofitable and vain worship, and contrary to the words of the Apostle Paul who said: "I thank my God, I speak with tongues more than ye all; yet in the Church I had rather speak five words with my understanding, that by my voice I might teach others also, than ten thousand words in an unknown tongue, 1 *Cor.* xiv. 18, 19.

Sixthly. Her doctrine of a purgatory to cleanse from sin is an invented and imaginary thing, and contrary to the primitive doctrine, that "the blood of Christ cleanseth from all sin;" 1 *John* i. 7. And her distinction of mortal and venial sin, tends only to blind people; for "the wages of sin is death." *Rom.* vi. 23.

Seventhly. The worshiping and invocation of angels and saints, as mediators betwixt us and God, is contrary to the primitive doctrine: "There is one mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus," 1 *Tim.* ii. 5; and He alone makes intercession for all them that believe. The angel reproved John when he would have worshiped him, saying: "See thou do it not; for I am thy fellow servant," &c. *Rev.* xxii. 8.

Eighthly. Her relicks and images are contrary to what the Lord commanded by the prophets: "Ye shall make you no idols nor graven image, neither rear you up a standing image; neither shall ye set up any image of stone in your land, to bow down to it." *Lev.* xxvi. 1. *Deut.* v. 8, 9. *Ezek.* vi. And in *Rom.* i. 23, they were condemned that changed the glory of the incorruptible God, into an image made like to corruptible man, &c. Thus the church of Rome may see, that image worship is forbidden in the law, the prophets, and the new Testament. And as for her relick worship,

there is neither command nor example for it by Christ or his apostles.*

Ninthly. The practices of commanding to abstain from meats on certain days, and of forbidding any to marry, are enumerated amongst the "doctrines of devils" by the apostle Paul, 1 *Tim.* iv. 1, 3.

There are also many other things which might be enumerated, which are found in the church of Rome, and which are proofs of her apostacy; such as her doctrine of the real presence of Christ's body and blood, in the bread and wine after the consecration by the priests; her observation of particular days dedicated to particular saints, the sale of pardons and indulgences, &c. &c.

SECTION III.

On separation from the church of Rome.

Now Christ being the Head of the true Church, who ought to rule by his spiritual sceptre in the hearts and consciences of people, unto whom all power in heaven and earth is committed by the Father, who will not that any other should have that glory—the separation of the Protestant churches, which have denied the Pope to be the head, is upon good ground: yet the Reformation is very imperfect; for many of

* The exhortation of John: "Little children, keep yourselves from idols," 1 *John* v. 21. is quite opposed to the practice of venerating relicks, by imagining them to possess any supernatural virtue, and of bowing down to them.

the doctrines and practices of these are not according to primitive doctrine and practice: such as setting up an outward ordination, and a form of laying on of hands without the Holy Ghost; and ordaining such as have some skill in languages and oratory for ministers, confining these to parishes, preaching for hire, exacting tithes, &c. and in using instrumental music in religious services, which pertained to the Jewish worship; in counting some particular days holy; in limiting to the use of certain portions of Scripture on certain days, and using certain forms of prayer on certain days, and in many other things; a brief history of the introduction of some of which, amongst those who profess to be Christians, here follows.

On fasts, feasts, and holy-days.

The Jews, in the first covenant, had many fasts, feasts, and holy-days; as the sabbath, passover, pentecost, feasts of the new moons, of unleavened bread, of tabernacles, and of dedication, which are largely shown in the books of Moses; all which things, as the apostle saith to the Hebrews, were but shadows of things to come, and not the things themselves; which only continued till the time of reformation, and till the bringing in of a better hope, which stood upon better promises.

In the primitive churches, they came to see the end of these things; and were brought to Him who was the substance, in whom all figures and shadows end. The apostle therefore says: "Let no man therefore judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect of a holy-day, which are a shadow of things to come; but the body is of Christ," *Col.* ii. 16, 17. Now, afterward, when people minded the form more than the Power,

they ran out into these things again, with many additions; some borrowed from the heathen and some of their own invention, and then pressed them upon Christians as apostolic ordinances. And these things stand in force with many to this day, even among those who are called reformed! The keeping of days was invented to commemorate any thing remarkable which related to Christ, the apostles, &c. and without any Divine authority; and for remarkable events, as the nativity, circumcision of Christ, and purification of Mary, called Candlemas. Easter and pentecost were kept by the Jews. And it was decreed and ratified at a Council at Lyons in France, that such days as either the holy saints departed this life upon, or did any notable deed, should be kept holy for the increase of their religion.

Silvester assigned the day of Advincula Sancti Petri, commonly called Lammas, in memory of Peter's pains and persecutions. Felix the first, in order to magnify the commendation of martyrs, made a statute that a yearly oblation should be had in memorial of them; and Gregory would that mass should be said over their graves and tombs. He also ordained, that neither flesh nor any thing that had affinity with it, as cheese, milk, butter, and eggs, should be eaten on such days as were fasts.

Boniface the fourth instituted the feast of St. Stephen and Innocents, John the Baptist, Lady day, Lawrence, Michæl, Martin, &c.

That which is called Corpus Christi day, was made a holy-day, and dedicated by Urbanus the fourth.

Soul-mass day was begun by Odilo, provost or provincial of Cluniacensis order, because he heard that great cryings, lamentations, and

weepings were heard about Ætna, the burning mountain in Sicily, which he supposed to be the weepings of evil spirits, that bewailed because the souls of dead men were taken from them, by the petitions and sacrifices of well-disposed Christians; he therefore appointed, in his convent, a general oblation for all souls, the day after the feast of All-saints; this was about the year 1002.

Telesphorus appointed that Lent should be kept before Easter, and added another week to it, which is called Quinquegesima; and in this week he commanded the priests to fast more than the laity.

On those called Parish Churches, and Church Yards.

Parish churches, which stand to this day both in the church of Rome and in those called reformed churches, were ordained, built, and dedicated to saints in the apostacy. The apostles and ministers of Christ, who published the Word of Reconciliation, and Christ the substance of all figures, gathered those who believed of the Jews from the temple and temple worship, and of the gentiles from their temples and idols, to worship God in spirit; and they met together in houses and sometimes by the sea side. There are no parish churches dedicated to saints mentioned in the Scriptures. The first church or temple that we read of, that was consecrated, was by Pius, bishop of Rome, about the middle of the second century, in honour of the virgin Pudentiana. Afterwards, Calistus is said to have made a temple to the Virgin Mary in a place beyond Tibris, and instituted a burial-place and called it after his own name. About the year 226, cemeteries were ordered to be hallowed, by Urbanus the

sixteenth bishop of Rome. Dionysius, in the year 267, allotted to the several presbyters, in the city of Rome, the churches and cemeteries; and to others in other places distributed their respective parishes and dioceses, that so every one might be confined within his own bounds and limits.

These were the beginnings of parish churches, church-yards, and consecrated grounds; but we read of no consecrated ground in the time of the apostles: they knew that the earth was the Lord's, and the fulness thereof, and that it was clean, and good, and blessed, to them that believed.

Now Protestants, who have denied the church of Rome, look about you and see how you are sticking in Babylon, and yet buying the merchandise thereof. As for your holy-ground, called church-yards, which only you judge fit to bury the dead in, and would compel all to come thither, is it not because there are so many officers in and about it, who are greedy of rewards; so that they would not miss any thing that might be commodious to them; and so would compel all to come there for their gain?

On Ecclesiastical Titles and Tithes.

Since the apostacy entered in, and the power of godliness began to be denied, there have a number of names crept into the Church which were not heard of before that time, from men seeking offices, great titles, great benefits, and great revenues, instead of serving the Lord freely and willingly and not for gifts and rewards. Of these titles are such as, The Pope, His Holiness, Christ's Vicar, Universal Bishop, Metropolitan Bishop, Lord Cardinals, Arch-

bishops, Lord Bishops, Arch Deacons, Deans, Prebends, Doctors of Divinity, Bachelors of Divinity, Vicars, Curates, &c. as well as various orders of monks and nuns which, if compared with Scripture, will scarcely meet any parallel either as to office, work, or doctrine.

There are literal ministers enough while the maintenance lasts; but the ministration of the Spirit, few are acquainted with.

At the giving forth of the Law, after Israel came out of Egypt, God chose Aaron and his sons for the office of the Priesthood; and the rest of the tribe of Levi for the service of the Tabernacle, and gave unto the Levites by commandment, for their service, all the tenth in Israel for an inheritance. And the Levites, out of their tithes, were to offer up to the Lord a tenth part, and give it unto Aaron for himself and his sons; so that the Levitical priests had no other portion but the tenth of the tenth; as for the rest they were for the Levites that served at the tabernacle, and for the strangers, fatherless, and widows. The priests had also, above the tenth of the tithes, the first ripe fruits of the ground; of corn, wine, and oil, and the first fleece. But how comes it to pass that they who pretend to another priesthood than this, even to be priests in the Christian Church, should receive the tenth of all, even of unclean beasts, as pigs, and foals? Surely they cannot distinguish the time nor the ministration, or they would be ashamed to claim a title to the Tithes of Aaron and the Levites, who had no portion in the land amongst their brethren, but these bishops, priests &c. have a great part of some countries for their revenue. Is this any other than the Pope's yoke? Must this be received as Apostolical doctrine? Let it never be mentioned amongst those who call

themselves ministers of Christ, or of any who profess themselves Christians.

The apostle ordained in the primitive churches that a weekly offering should be made by the saints; that every one might freely offer of that with which God had blessed him, which was put into the hands of the Deacons, and out of it the poor and necessary services were supplied.

In the next age monthly offerings were made, not exacted, but freely given. Tertullian says: "Whatsoever we have in the treasury of our churches, is not raised by taxation, as though we put men to ransom their religion, but every man, once a month or when he himself pleases, gives what he thinks good; for *no man is compelled*, but left to his own discretion; and it is not bestowed in vanity, but in relieving the poor, and for the maintenance of poor children destitute of parents, and of aged people, and such as are cast into prisons for professing the Christian faith." This mode of contribution continued till about the year 304, according to Eusebius, Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian and others.

Origen says: It is not lawful for any minister to possess lands given to the Church, for his own use.

The Council at Antioch, anno 340, finding that much fault had been among the Deacons, to whom it properly belonged to distribute the offerings of free gifts, where there was need, and which they had detained for their own covetous ends, ordained that the Bishops might distribute the goods; but required that they should take no part thereof to themselves, or to the use of the priests; using the exhortation of the apostle: "Having food and raiment be therewith content."

Chrysostom, who lived about the year 400, pressed the people much to bountiful contribu-

tions for holy uses, and says: "I speak not these things as commanding, or forbidding they should give more, yet as thinking it fit they should not give less than the tenth part." Ambrose bishop of Milan, about the same period, preached up tenths to be offered for holy uses, as the phrase then was: but he produced his authority wholly from the writings of Moses. Augustin bishop of Hippo, joined with Ambrose, and threatened these who did not give their tenths, with great penalties and heavy judgments from God; who, they said, had reserved them for the *use of the poor.*

Hitherto, [for *four hundred* years,] it was not laid down as a positive doctrine to pay them as the Jews did; but the Jews were brought for an example, that Christians should not give less. Leo, about the year 440, was very earnest in stirring up men's devotion to offer to the Church; but speaks not a word as to quantity. Gregory not only advised the payment of Tithes from the Law of Moses; but also the observing of Lent, which he reckoned as the tenth part of the year, saying: "We are commanded in the *Law* to give the tenth of all things to God."

About the year 600, pope Gregory the first, sent Augustin the monk into England, by whom Ethelbert king of Kent was converted, as they call it; but it was only to Popery. Augustin and his clergy for a long time followed the example of former ages, living in common upon the offerings of their converts; but afterwards, having brought a great part of the nation to their faith, they began to preach up, that Tithes ought to be paid; and having taught the people that the pardon of sin was merited by good works, and the torments of hell avoided by charity, it was no hard matter to persuade them

to give not only their tenths, but their lands and other riches; so that, in process of time, the clergy got about a third part of the land into their hands. Though by the law of Moses, they were to have no possessions in land, except the very limited suburbs of the Levites. *Num.* xxxv. 5.

Offa king of Mercia and Ethelwolf king of Northumberland, who also were converted to Popery, made decrees that the two kingdoms should pay tithes.

Notwithstanding the threats of some great bishops, it was not till about the year 800, that the doctrine that tithes ought to be paid, was generally received; and then they were received into a common treasury and were disposed of thus: one *fourth* to the priests, out of which every one had his portion; one fourth to the relief of the poor, the sick, and strangers; a fourth to the building and repairing of places of public worship; and a fourth to the bishop, who generally lived in some monastery and his clergy with him; from whence he sent them to preach in the countries, where they received such offerings as were made, and brought them to the treasury.

None of the first eight general councils ever mention the name of tithes; but the ninth, held at Lateran, under pope Calixtus the second, anno 1119, speaks of such as had been given to the Church by special consecration; for at that time, people believing that tithes ought to be given to the POOR, gave them to the heads and rulers of religious houses, who disposed of them; keeping open house for the poor and strangers, and were esteemed holy and good treasurers for the poor, as is testified by Cassion. But the council held under pope Alexander the third, anno 1180, seeing much given to the poor and

little to the priests, made a decree to restrain people's freedom.

There was no law, canon, or constitution of any general council that commanded Tithes, or expressly supposed them a duty, before that of Lateran, anno 1215, under pope Innocent the third; at which time the Pope's power was grown great. And then the people had greater mind to give them to the poor than to the priests; which made Innocent cry out against those who gave their Tithes and first fruits to the poor, and not to the priests, as heinous offenders.

At a council held at Lyons, under pope Gregory the tenth, anno 1274, it was constituted, that it should not thenceforth be lawful for men to give their tithes at their own pleasure, as they had before done, but that they should pay all to the mother church.

The great decree which speaks most plainly of them was made at the council of Trent, under pope Pius the fourth, anno 1560: it commanded Tithes to be paid under penalties of excommunication.

By what has been stated, it may be seen that Tithes were not even reckoned as due for many hundred years after Christ; and that indeed they were never due in the Second Covenant, Christ having put an end to the first priesthood, with all its shadows and carnal ordinances.

On Psalms, Matins, Litany, and Mass.

The Jews had many officers which belonged to the temple worship, amongst which were singers, as the Ezrahites, and the sons of Korah, and Asaph, &c. This was under the first covenant, and belonged to that priesthood which could not continue because of the faultiness

thereof. But the Christians in the primitive times, who had received the Holy Ghost, did joy in it; and they who sung, sung with the Spirit and with understanding, from the feeling of God's presence and assurance, which they had in their hearts. And they that overcame were redeemed from the earth, they that had followed the Lamb, who had given them the victory over sin, death, and the grave, sung a new song, which none could learn but those whose names were written in the Lamb's book of Life. These were the songs of the redeemed, whom God had delivered out of the hands of their enemies; and those who sung them were witnesses of his wonderous works, and praised Him in the Spirit and with understanding; they did not get a form of words.

They also prayed in the Spirit, and with understanding, as they were moved by the Holy Ghost; and were not limited as to the length of time, or to hours, or set times, but only to when the Spirit of God gave utterance; and then their prayers were accepted, and were as sweet incense.

But since the entering in of the apostacy, the Spirit and power having been lost by many, they have set up imitations.

Hierome appointed Matins at set times, as Polydore Virgil says; and Pelagius the second, was the first who commanded priests to say them daily, saying: "As the just man falleth seven times, so by instant prayers and matins, he may as often rise and amend."

Pontianus, the seventeenth Bisho of Rome, ordained that Psalms and Matins should be sung in the Church night and day, to drive away evil spirits.

Damasus, bishop of Rome, gave commandment that Matins should be said or sung in all

churches; and added "Gloria Patri," to the end of every Psalm. He also instituted that Psalms should be said or sung by course.

Urbanus the second ordained those called the Lady's Matins to be said daily, and confirmed them in a council which he held at Mount Clare in France.

At length matins and prayers were so numerous in the church of Rome, that they were glad to get beads to tell them by.

Concerning Mass and Litany, there have been so many authors patching them up that they are almost past numbering. Celestinus ordained some prayers to be said by the Priest when revesting himself to Mass, beginning "Judica me Domine." Damasus instituted the confession at the beginning of the mass; and Gorgius caused confession to be said nine times over in the Latin-church. Telesphorus ordained the Gospels and Epistles to be read; and Damasus divided them as they are read at this day in some of the churches professing to be reformed. Anastatius ordained that people should stand at the reading of the Gospel; Marcus ordained the first part of the Creed to be read, after it was made by the council of Nice. The second part, and Spiritum Sanctum was composed by the council at Constantinople. Eutichianus instituted the offertory to be sung whilst the people offered some thing to the poor. Gelasius made some of the prefaces; Leo the third, ordained the burning of incense, which pertained to Aaron in the first Covenant; Privity of Mass, called common, was made by various persons; Gelatius made, "Te igitur;" and Alexander added, "Qui pridie;" Leo, made the addition of "Hanc igitur;" and Gregory added three petitions in the same. "Dies qui nostras, &c." Innocentius instituted that priests in the upper part of

the choir should kiss one another, and that pax should be borne to the people. Serjius ordained "Agnus Dei" to be sung by the clergy at the time of communion, seven hundred years after Christ's ascension; the priest often turning to the altar and wheeling about when he says: "Dominus vobiscum," or "Oratis Fratres."

Fœlix decreed that Mass should be said only in consecrated places; and none were to meddle with the mysteries of consecration but the priest. Anacletus ordained that no Mass should be said unless in the presence of at least two persons, lest the priest should say in vain to bare walls, "Dominus vobiscum," "The Lord be with you," when no persons were present. Thus one piece has been added to another, by which people's minds have been drawn from attending on the Spirit of God, to hearken to these foolish ceremonies and invented charms, and so they have been led into ignorance and the shadow of death, where many have taken up their habitations; and Babylon's merchants have traded these many hundreds of years, with such like merchandise, under the name of apostolick ordinances and holy institutions.

On Swearing. *

In the first Covenant, the Jews were commanded to swear by the Lord, and oaths were observed by them. But the doctrine of Christ who came to end that Covenant, and to establish the everlasting Covenant, was: "Swear not at all," neither by the head nor by any other

* Some of the observations under this head are extracted from a work of Francis Howgill's, entitled, Oaths no Gospel Ordinance.

thing; and that yea should be yea, and nay nay in all things. And James, an apostle of Christ Jesus, who knew the new Covenant which is everlasting, and saw over the ordinances of the first Covenant, said: "Above all things, my brethren, swear not; neither by heaven, neither by the earth, neither by any other oath; but let your yea be yea, and your nay, nay; lest ye fall into condemnation." *James* v. 12. And this was apostolick and catholick doctrine in the primitive Churches. But afterwards people began to set up oaths again; imitating the Jews, who were under the first Covenant, and bringing the commands to them as their ground. Justinian the emperor of Rome, appointed first that men should swear by the gospel, or book called the gospel, and lay their hands thereon and kiss it, saying: "So help me God."

Many persons rather than swear, and bring condemnation upon themselves, have denied their estates and liberties, which laid at stake upon refusing to swear; and happy will they be who have had no hand in provoking the upright, and endeavouring to turn them aside out of Christ's way; for woe will undoubtedly come upon such as have had a hand therein.

In order that it may be seen that refusing to swear is no new thing, a few examples are here produced of the faithful, who suffered as martyrs in ages past; and it would be easy to bring a cloud of witnesses from ecclesiastical histories, of those who denied all swearing in various ages; a few testimonies of such are here produced. Basilides, who suffered martyrdom, being required to swear, affirmed plainly that it was not lawful for him to swear, for he was a Christian: so that it seems to have been the mark of a Christian not to swear.

Walter Brute, a martyr, a teacher amongst the

people of God called Lollards, bore this testimony: "As concerning oaths, I believe and obey the doctrine of Almighty God, and my Master Christ Jesus, which teacheth that Christian men, in affirmation of a truth, should pass the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees of the Old Testament, or else He excludeth them from the kingdom of heaven. And as concerning oaths He says: 'It hath been said of old time, Thou shalt not forswear thyself, but shalt perform those things unto the Lord thou knowest; but I say unto you, thou shalt not swear at all, neither by heaven, nor by earth, &c. but let your communication be yea, yea, nay, nay; for whatsoever is more than this cometh of evil; 'therefore as the perfection of ancient men of the Old Testament was not to forswear themselves, so the perfection of Christian men is not to swear at all, because they are so commanded of Christ, whose commandment in no case must be broken."

The Waldenses or Leonists who were ancient and true protestants, professed it to be in no way lawful for a Christian to swear; whose cause Archbishop Usher, primate of Ireland, pleaded in this very thing, stating that command of Christ: "Swear not at all," *Matt.* v. 34 to be a sufficient plea for them.

It is one of the articles of John Wickliff, whose works were as much esteemed by the protestants of England, as despised by the papists, "That Oaths which be made for any contract or civil bargain betwixt man and man be unlawful."

"The Plowman's complaint," in the prayers, says: "Lord thou givest us a commandment of Truth, in bidding us say yea, yea, and nay, nay, and swear for nothing; Thou givest us a commandment of meekness, and another of poorness;

but, Lord, he that calls himself thy vicar on earth, hath broken both these commandments, for he maketh a law to compel men to swear." Acts and Mon. fol. vol. 1 p. 459. 9th. Edit.

Chrysostom, bishop of Constantinople, blameth greatly those who bring a book to swear upon; charging clerks that they in no wise constrain any body to swear, whether they think a man swear true or false, saying: "It is a sin to swear well."

On the extent of the power of Kings and Magistrates in matters of conscience.

When the Lord brought Israel out of the land of Egypt, by a strong hand and an outstretched arm, He made a Covenant with them, and gave forth a Law, and statutes, and ordinances at Mount Sinai, by the hand of Moses, the Judge of Israel. The laws and statutes which were then given forth for Israel to walk in, were concerning moral and civil things, and also concerning the worship of the true God. See *Exodus*, *Numbers*, *and Deuteronomy*. And those who did not worship the true God according to the command given in that Covenant, were to have judgment executed upon them according to the Law; and Moses and the rest of the judges over Israel, were to see the laws and statutes executed upon the transgressors; if any were idolaters and worshiped a false god, or blasphemers, or sabbath breakers they were to be stoned to death; and their blood was to be upon their own heads. This was according to the Law of God.

And when Israel lusted after a king, God gave them one; and they had many kings, who were anointed of God, by his appointment, who were to rule in the same manner as Moses, Joshua, and the rest of the judges had done: this was

before Christ was manifested in the flesh; this was the old way, these were the old paths that Israel were to walk in; but this Covenant was faulty, as the apostle says, and the ministers of it could not continue by reason of death; the Law, Priesthood, Ordinances, and Worship were changed, when Christ, the end of the Law for righteousness, was manifested.

Now as Aaron and the rest of the high-priests under the law, were but types and figures of the Everlasting High-priest, so the judges and kings of Israel were types and figures of Christ, the King of Kings, the King of Saints, the Law-giver and the Judge; and their outward power in compelling to the true worship, or restraining from idolatry under that covenant did but continue until the time of reformation, and was but a type of Christ's spiritual power, weapons, and execution of judgment upon his enemies, who are not subject to his government and power.

The first Covenant and its ordinances, and the power of compelling to the worship, and punishing idolatry, belonged to the Jews only, who were under that Covenant, and not to the gentiles; as it is written: "He showeth his word unto Jacob, his statutes and his judgments unto Israel. He hath not dealt so with any nation." *Psalm* cxlvii. 19, 20. Wherefore they who would bring people now under this Covenant, and the power of it, deny virtually the second and everlasting Covenant.

The ministers of antichrist have pressed it upon kings and rulers, that God hath required of them to enforce all people to a worship, although they themselves are divided among themselves; one while for this thing and at another time for that. And because the kings of Israel did so, and had power to do so, they

have concluded that princes and judges ought to do so; and by this means have made them put their necks into a yoke, which is too heavy for them to bear; which the Lord hath not required at their hands. By these compellings and forcings, many hypocrites have been made; and many of the consciences of God's people wounded and burdened: and because of them many kings and rulers have lost their dominions under the judgments of the Lord. All who have intruded upon Christ's prerogative and sovereignty, are but usurpers of that power which the Father hath given unto his Son, and which He will not give to any other, to be Judge and Lawgiver in the hearts and consciences of his people.

It may be objected, that the apostles exhort to submission to every Ordinance of man for the Lord's sake; 1 *Pet.* ii. 13, 14: "Whether it be to the king as supreme; or unto governors, as unto them that are sent by him;" and *Rom.* xiii. 1, 2: "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God." Now from these Scriptures many bad inferences have been drawn; such as that kings and rulers were to be obeyed in all things; and that they had power in spiritual things, to make laws for such a mode of worship as they preferred, and to forbid others; and that all these ought to be obeyed: and, in the apostacy, the ministers of antichrist have brought in many inventions, traditions, and human institutions, for Divine worship; and have pressed rulers to make laws, and compel all people to receive them, although they have been repugnant to the true worship of God. And such teachers have pressed people to obedience

as a duty, on the ground of the aforesaid Scriptures.

Now these Scriptures must be understood to speak of submission in things which are just and equal, which are only of a civil or moral nature, and of ordinances for the good and wholesome government of a state; and cannot be understood of things spiritual, or relating to the worship of God; otherwise Peter and John were themselves transgressors, as well as the other apostles, who when they taught boldly in the Name of Jesus, and were commanded by the rulers to speak no more in that Name, disobeyed the command, saying: "Whether it be right in the sight of God, to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye."

On Image worship, the decrees of Councils, and the infallibility of the church of Rome.

Leo, emperor of Rome, commanded that all images and pictures of saints, should be taken out of the churches, for the avoiding of idolatry, in the year 726; but Gregory the second withstood him; and Leo, for confirmation, called a council of Bishops, about 300 in number; and they, in the year 730, decreed that all images should be taken away and broken. But Gregory the second called another council at Rome, of near a thousand Bishops, and condemned Leo and the three hundred Bishops, for taking the images out of churches; and decreed that they should be worshiped with all reverence. Yet the former council and this were all of one faith, and of that church which they say cannot err.

The Eliberine council decreed that no

images should be set up in the churches, nor worshiped; and that the walls should not be painted. The council of Constantinople decreed, that images were not to be suffered in the churches, or meeting-places. But the second Nicene council determined, that images were not only to be placed in the churches but also to be worshiped. *

The latter council, under Julius the second, repealed the decrees of the Pisan council. The Basil council determined, that a council of Bishops was above the Pope, and that they who judged othewise were hereticks; but the Lateran council, under Leo, decreed, that the Pope was above the council; and that he who should think otherwise should be held for a heretic.

The council of Trent commanded that Bishops should teach the people, and should have no more benefit for preferment, than one place;

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* In the beginning of the 7th century, Gregory the first blamed Serenus of Marseilles, a bishop, for causing all the images to be pulled down, and cast out of the places of worship, and destroyed; because the Franks, who had settled in the south of Gaul, who had been indulged in the use of them at the time of their conversion, had been insensibly brought back, by them, to idolatry. Gregory says on this occasion: "Though images were not set up in churches to be worshiped, yet they serve to instruct the ignorant." But the council of Trent says: "Images were set up in churches, to have due honour and worship paid them there." If therefore the doctrine of Trent was sound, Gregory's doctrine was heretical. The doctrines of both are, however, contrary to the doctrine of the Holy Scriptures; and it would be well for all who are in the practice of bowing down to images and pictures, or of worshiping them, to consider how they will stand, in the day of judgment, before God, who has commanded: "Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth: thou shalt *not bow down* thyself to them, nor serve them; for I the LORD thy God am a jealous God:" *Exodus* xx. 4, 5.

but they have since made this decree void, and now whole countries are too little for them; and Protestants imitate the same.

What has been the validity of these councils of men, acting out of the life and power of God, which bring the Seed of God into bondage? Now, Rome, look to thy infallibility, universality, and unity, which thou so much criest up, one while setting up one thing, and another throwing it down again, when it will not serve particular interests.

Thus people have been led up and down for many generations; and there has been persecution about changeable and alterable things; and the Life, which redeems out of the world unto God, has not been sought after. Let all who desire to have peace, and to enjoy the testimony of God's blessed Spirit, come out of this Babylon, this city of confusion, whose seat is erected upon the sand, whose foundation is laid in the waters, and whose faith is placed upon human institutions; which are variable and subject to mutation. Let them come to know "the Rock of Ages," and the unalterable council of the Lord, and the wisdom of the Most High, to rule in their hearts. Let them wait in the immortal Light of God, which is within, that they may see over all these mountains of darkness, which are risen up in the apostacy; and over all the institutions, decrees, statutes, ordinances, and inventions of men; and come to Him who is "the Beginning of the creation of God," who is that Quickening Spirit, by which all who believe are raised out of death, and made partakers of the Life, which is immortal, which fades not away; and then they will be enabled to worship the Lord in spirit and in truth.

Away with all types, figures, shadows, and veils, with human institutions and ordinances of

men, ceremonies and vain superstitious traditions, which God hath no pleasure in, which do not profit at all; for the Life is risen; "the veil of the covering, which has been spread over all nations," is rent; the night is gone; the day is come, and has appeared in brightness; the shadows are passed away, and the morning of Righteousness has appeared; the Son of God, who has given to his flock an understanding, is come, in whom life, blessedness, and everlasting consolation reside; which He causeth to rest upon his people for evermore.

SECTION IV.

HOW ALL MAY COME OUT OF THE APOSTACY AND BECOME MEMBERS OF THE TRUE CHURCH, THE LAMB'S WIFE, WHICH IS IN GOD.

So far as God appeared, or manifested Himself to the sons of men in any age, by shadows, figures, or other outward appearances, the evil spirit, serpent's seed, and evil doer, always took up the form of the thing, when it came into reputation.

The Jews held up the types, figures, and ordinances of the first Covenant, and opposed Christ, the Light and Everlasting Covenant, and also those who published Him. And when the Name of Christ came to be spread abroad, false apostles and deceitful workers, who were enemies to the Cross, and to the Power of God, preached Christ out of contention and envy, and for filthy lucre; and by wicked practices made the Name of Christian odious among the heathen; and, by their ungodly deeds, caused the worthy Name by which the saints are saved, to be blasphemed.

When the apostle gathered together many that believed, and settled them in the order of the Gospel, and that order and the conversation of the saints came to be of good account, false apostles and deceitful workers got up; and as the apostles and saints met together in houses, the false apostles crept into houses, and held the form but denied the power; and such were to be turned away from, according to the exhortation of the apostle to Timothy.

Since the true Church fled into the wilderness, the false church came into visibility, to sit as a Queen upon the waters, the nations and peoples; other things have been brought in, which were not institutions of Christ or of the primitive Churches; and these the world has wandered after, in the dark night of apostacy, in which the worship has been made up partly from that of the Jews, partly from that of the heathen, and partly of the inventions of those who were in the apostacy; they being corrupted, and the Scriptures having been perverted every way, to confirm all this deceit.

Many have judged, that to relinquish the former superstitious practices, and to take up the *form and practise* again in the *outward*, as it was in the days of the apostles, is to come out of the apostacy. But let all know this, that the worship and service which God now requires, and that alone in which He will manifest Himself, is in the Spirit; which all people are to wait for, that they may come to the end of the night of error, and witness restoration to the Bride the Lamb's Wife.

Now a measure of God's Spirit is given to every one to profit withal, which, as it is attended to, shows what is sin, tansgression, formal worship, and the transformations of deceit, and leads them that believe in it, out of that which

is polluted, to Christ, the Sure Foundation, and mighty Power of God; and causes them to know the Peace of God, and good will to all men. That which will restore all those who believe in it, must all wait for, and witness it to be made manifest in their hearts, and receive it. This will bring them out of the apostacy; but without this they can neither come out of it, nor see the end of those things which are to be abolished; for it is the mighty Power of God alone, which must be witnessed and received by every man who comes to be a living stone of the holy city, a living son of the free woman, and a true member of the Heavenly Jerusalem, which is from above.

These sayings are faithful and true; and blessed is he that heareth, believeth, and receiveth them.

CHAPTER III.

EXTRACTS FROM FRANCIS HOWGILL'S EPISTLES.

SECTION I.

AN EPISTLE TO FRIENDS IN IRELAND.

Unto all you who believed the report, and who received the testimony, and unto whom the word of the Lord came in power, to the turning of you, in any measure, from darkness to light, our souls wish and desire the multiplying and abounding of the grace and love of God in you, and among you; that thereby you may grow in union and favour with God, and into the fellowship with all the Children of Light; and may be nourished as new born babes, by the milk of that Word which endureth for ever. And verily, though we are now separated from you in the body, yet are we present with you in spirit, not ceasing in prayer to God for you; but with heart breathings to Him, our souls are poured out at the Throne of Grace on your behalf, that your faith may not be made void, knowing your state and condition; being fully sensible of your weakness to resist the temptations of the enemy, being but young and tender in the experience of the way, and operation of God; and unacquainted with the cunning wiles of satan, who will notcease seeking whom he may devour, and whom he may lead aside in the by-paths of iniquity,

from the obedience and faith in Christ Jesus; that shipwreck may be made of those good desires now begotten in you, through the ministry of Christ sent unto you; by whom a good work is begun in you, which will bring forth the redemption and salvation of your souls, if you abide in the patience, enduring the cross and sufferings unto the end.

And dear friends, this charge, in the Name of the Lord, we lay upon you; that in the fear of the Lord, you meet together, waiting in the patient hope, in the Light which leads out of the night, and out of all the works of darkness, unto the day, glory, and rising of the Sun of Righteousness; that all clouds and veils may be removed, and the night of darkness and stumbling may be wholly finished; that as Children of the Light, and of the day, you may walk, bringing forth fruits of righteousness, unto the glory of God; being judged in the flesh, and condemned as men in the flesh, and changed, from its nature of transgression and disobedience, into the Divine nature of God, and into the likeness of the Father; that henceforth, as a people redeemed by Him, and saved of Him, you may serve Him in newness of life, by the Spirit of his Son; who dwells in you, as you dwell in the Light.

And hereunto, the Lord God Almighty preserve you, to the finishing of your course with joy, in the way of the Lord; that you may know as you are known; and victory may be given you over death, hell, and the grave; and that through the war you may partake of the crown immortal, which fades not away. Therefore be faithful in obedience to the will of God, made manifest in the Light, which condemneth the evil, and chooseth the good. And daily become subject to the cross of Christ, taking up his yoke and burthen, which killeth and crucifieth the

fleshly man, with his affections, desires, and lusts; that being slain to all mortal, you may reign in immortality over all your enemies, inward and outward; against which you are to war, even against spiritual wickedness in high places, and against exalting thoughts and imaginations. Therefore put on the strength of the Lord Jesus Christ, and gird yourselves with his power; and be low in heart, and subject to the Father in all things; and be not high-minded, but fear; and stand in awe, and sin not; neither fly the cross of Christ, but let it be your rejoicing; and let love abound among you, even the love wherewith you are loved of the Father; being of one heart, and like-minded one with another, forbearing one another, and forgiving one another, and humbly reproving one another, if any be overtaken with a fault.

And wait for discerning, to have salt in yourselves, to know and savour one another in the spirit, and operation, and working of it; that being sensible, and feeling of one another's conditions in the spirit, you may speak to the informing of one another, unto the building up of one another in the precious faith; but be slow to speak, and swift to hear; and feed not one another's sensual wisdom, which is the serpent's seat: for words without knowledge darken counsel, and betray simplicity. But take heed to the measure of the Light of Christ, and be watchful in it; having the loins of your minds girded up, as obedient servants, waiting for the will of God; to be doers thereof from the simplicity and sincerity of the heart; being watchful lest the tempter by imaginations present himself in a way and voice, like unto the way and voice of the True Shepherd; and thereby the simplicity be ensnared, and your way and savour be lost, and darkness and clouds come

over you; and so deceit strengthen itself, and take an offence in Christ Jesus. The last end of such will be worse than the beginning: and the way of truth will be blasphemed; and the grace of God will be turned into wantonness; and the door of Life will be shut against them. But be upright hearted, and single minded unto the end; for he that overcometh shall eat of the hidden manna.

And strive not one with another, neither judge one another, in that which you do not see in the Light; but keep at home in your own conditions, waiting till judgment be perfected in victory, and your redemption brought forth. And though you have trouble in the world, and suffering and reproaches from it; yet in Christ shall you have peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost: for your present troubles and sufferings, are not worthy to be compared with the glory that shall be revealed in you. And coming through the same entrance of tribulations with us, you shall be made partakers of the same life, and glory, and inheritance, to rejoice, and sing the song of the Lamb for evermore, over the beast, and over his mark, and over the number of his name.

And all of you, whether masters or servants, parents or children, of what calling or condition soever, walk as becomes the gospel of Christ Jesus, in all holiness, and purity, and humility in your conversation; and be examples of righteousness one to another, that in your several places you may honour Him who hath called you, by works of faith and righteousness; that thereby the mouth of such as wait for your halting may be stopped; and by your good works God may be glorified in the sight of your enemies. For the gospel preached unto you was not to lead into words only, but into life

and power; and with such as are in the life and power our unity stands; and we shall never be ashamed to call them brethren and sisters.

Therefore dear children, be diligent in the Lord's work, and steadfast in watching over your own hearts in particular; and watch over one another in general for good, and not evil; that you may grow up into one body, members of one head, joined by the Spirit unto Christ Jesus, who is the Light of the world; upon whom you have believed to your salvation, if you continue in the faith. And your rock of defence and salvation, is become the stumbling stone, and rock of offence to the princes and to the rulers. And truly beloved, our bowels are troubled for you, being not ignorant of the very purpose of satan; who hath now stirred up his agents, thinking to make void your faith and belief, and even to slay the child whilst he is young: but our confidence in the Lord herein is strong, that He will preserve you to his praise, and the little seed shall never be forgotten of Him; but though it was sown in weakness, it shall arise, and spring, and be raised in power, to the torment of all the Lord's enemies.

And you whose hearts God hath touched, and who are entered in to the way, look not back at any glory left behind; but freely give up all, and press on in the straight way, through the death of the enmity upon the cross; and as you deny yourselves for Christ, so will your reward be from Him manifold. Dwell in the judgment till the ground of unrighteousness be removed; and so eternal peace be manifested unto the seed of immortality. And look not back at hardships, nor at the multitudes of temptations; but mind the Light, which is the whole armour of God, whereby you will receive strength to overcome

all your enemies; and the Covenant of God will be established with you, in which you will receive the blessing in all things, and will know how to use all things to the glory of God; seeing his pure presence in all his blessings. Stand always in the cross to the carnal, and so your understandings will be kept open and clear, to receive the pure teachings of the Father; and his wisdom from above will grow in you; and the wisdom of the earthly will die. And if you abide in the Light, which is from the beginning, you need no man to teach you; but by the anointing which you will receive, you will be taught all things in the way of God perfectly; and so stand witnesses for the Lord, and against all the world and its deceits.

Beware of the love of the world; and of the bad ground; and of the envious man, lest he sow tares among the good seed, and so you become corrupted, and the just principle in you be betrayed; and so satan exalt himself above the measure of God's Spirit revealed in you; and so you perish in the gainsaying. But our hearts hope better things of you, even your growth into the heirship with Christ; to reign with Him over the world, in the incorruptible inheritance; that we may reign together in one heart and mind, one with another. And truly herein will our joy be increased, in the midst of our troubles and sufferings, to hear and understand of your faithfulness and obedience, in the faith of the gospel declared unto you.

To the Grace of God, upon whom you have believed, we do commit you, in the bowels of everlasting love and pity, with tenderness of soul and spirit, to be kept by the power of God unto the day of salvation. The eternal presence of the Lord God, the Everlasting Father, be with you all. Amen, Amen.

We are yours in the Lord; and are fellow-prisoners for the testimony of Jesus, which we hold: known to you, and not to the world.

From the house of the Sergeant at Arms in Dublin, the 24th. of the 12th. month 1655.

FRANCIS HOWGILL.
EDWARD BURROUGH.

SECTION II.

AN EPISTLE TO FRIENDS IN LONDON.

A servant of Jesus Christ, unto all chosen, obedient, and faithful friends and brethren, in and about London, wisheth an increase of righteousness, faith, obedience, patience, and love, that you may know and feel an increase in the increase of God; that your joy, rest, and peace may be full in Him, who is eternal life itself: who hath brought, and is bringing immortality to light through the Gospel, unto all, and in all who receive it, and believe in it; which is the power of God unto salvation, unto all that believe. And by it alone is the remission and forgiveness of sins witnessed; and in no other name but his, who is the mighty power of God, is eternal life witnessed, or victory and dominion over sin, the world, and the devil, even by Christ Jesus, the Word of God, the Power of God; by which power alone is strength and victory witnessed over death and the grave, by all that believe in Him, and receive Him; and to them He gives power to become the sons of God, and to receive an inheritance with the saints in light, among them that are sanctified. Therefore, dearly beloved

in the Lord, fulfil our joy who have laboured and travailed amongst you; and have declared unto you the Gospel, which is preached unto every creature under heaven; and the common salvation which was delivered to the saints, who are at rest in the Lord; and is now again delivered and declared unto us, in this his own day of mercy, love, and grace; and the revelation of his righteousness; that they without us might not be made perfect: for all make up but one body, and if a member be wanting, the body is not perfect.

And you yourselves are our witnesses, that we preached unto you Christ the Lord, whom we were made partakers of; and ourselves only your servants, for his sake. And the Lord is our witness, and his Spirit in you all is our witness, that we followed not devised fables; neither through enticing words of the wisdom of man declared we unto you; nor handled we the word of truth deceitfully, but in much fear, and soberness, and tenderness unto all in whom there was any ear to hear, or any desire in their hearts after the Lord. Neither did we seek to exercise dominion over you; but rejoiced when any had dominion in the Lord over deceit; and when they reigned we reigned also: but they who reigned without us, and not in the Lord, and would have entered through deceit and craft any way into the vineyard of the Lord, and have spoiled the plants, and would have subverted from the faith, we gave no place unto, no not for a moment. The righteous indignation of the Lord, will fall on them who have made the offence of the cross to cease, and gloried in the flesh, and would have brought all thither again, and have made havock of the flock of Christ for whom He died; and

would have had them to have lived and reigned, who put Him to death; and counted that which cleansed from sin, a vain and a low thing.

Dearly beloved of the Lord, who are obedient unto the word of his grace, these things are come as a trial, that none may henceforth glory in man, nor in any thing but in the Lord, the Life itself, and in them who are in the life; and every one may keep to his own singly; and so will not be easily moved. And you whom the Lord hath kept in the hour of trial and temptation, so that you joined not with the error of the wicked, prize his love, and keep low; stand in awe of the pure presence of the Lord, else you will know his wrath to be kindled against you again; but the fear, awe, and dread of the Lord keeps you clean, clear, and pure in his sight. All mind the first love, and that which keeps your hearts open and tender to the Lord, and one to another. Put away all strife and contention; watch not for one another's halting: for that which would rejoice therein is in the transgression itself. Dwell in love and peace one with another. Take heed of security, and carelessness, and ease in the flesh; for that will bring poverty, dryness, and barrenness among you.

But all feel the life and the power of God; and let your faith stand in it alone; and they that trust in it shall never be moved; for there you will be preserved out of the changeableness and changeable things, which adulterate the mind from God, who never changeth.

He who hath the key of David, opens the door of the treasure house of eternal wisdom; and unto every one He gives a measure according to the good pleasure of his will: to those who wait upon Him, and are faithful, He gives of his wisdom and knowledge, which are

past finding out by the children of disobedience, whose wisdom is corrupt; but in all that believe, He pours out a measure of his Spirit of Life, of purity, and power; and in the measure all that wait have unity with Him, who is the fulness of all things; and of his fulness receive grace for grace: and his righteousness, love, wisdom, mercy, and fulness are revealed from faith to faith: and as you believe, so are you near to Him, whose ways cannot be measured; and as you grow in the faith of Him, and in Him, who hath enlightened you, and shined in your Hearts, you will see more of his love, of his purity, holiness, wisdom, and glory, and feel and understand of Him, and from Him, who is invisible and eternal; blessed for ever and ever. Amen!

So friends, all press on towards the mark; that you may know completeness in Him, who is all fair, and altogether lovely; and you who know his love, and the beloved, hold Him fast for ever, and let Him not go. Nothing can separate but an unchaste heart. But if you join unto any strange flesh or idols, or other lovers, and so draw your love from Him, be sure of this, He will hide his countenance from you; and then sorrow will fill your hearts. So look not to Egypt again, nor to what you have parted with, lest you be turned into a pillar of salt. "Remember Lot's wife." There are many of the same nature with her, who are as examples; that you may for ever beware, lest the same root of bitterness spring up as hath done among many, upon whom nothing is to be expected, but a daily, fearful looking for of the just judgments of God, for their ungodly deeds, and hard speeches against the Truth, and the servants of it.

All abide in the cross, that the nature out of

which the lusts and the war arise against the Lord, and against your souls, may wither, die, and be worn out; and so you will see more rest and peace in and with the Lord; and He that hath begun will finish. All power is committed to Him, both in heaven and earth. He will work righteousness in the earth, and preserve all in peace in Himself for ever, who believe in his power.

And so friends, this I must needs say: If you be straitened it is in your own bowels; as sometimes I have said when I was present with you even the same I write now: Destruction is of self; and barrenness is of self; and deadness and disobedience are of self; but as you believe in Him who is near, and in his grace, self is judged and bruised under; and you will feel Him who is the first and the last to enlarge your borders, and make your mountain strong, and your heritage goodly, and your ground fair and pleasant, where the pleasant fruit of righteousness is brought forth; which grows in the valleys of righteousness, where the beds are green, and the garden is, which gives a sweet smell; and where all that dwell, live, and abide, are fresh, beautiful, and lovely in the sight of the Lord, and in the sight of all the children of Light for ever.

Friends, above all things keep low; and none judge of yourselves, nor think of yourselves above what is meet: take heed of conceitedness, and pride, and exaltation, and presumption, and of gainsaying, and resisting them who have laboured amongst you in word and doctrine; whose example you have daily as a pattern before you. Let there be no boasting, nor contentions, nor strife, nor emulation, nor surmising; but in singleness of heart, all bear and forbear one another; and let the same mind

be in you as was in Christ Jesus; and so peace will be in your dwellings, and rest and prosperity in your habitations; and plenty, and riches from above of the heavenly wisdom will be multiplied in your meetings; and the pure presence of God and his power will compass you about, who are of an upright heart to the Lord. That so you may be as examples and patterns of holiness and righteousness in your generation; that your enemies may confess God is among you of a truth. And so the power of the Lord Jesus Christ rest and abide amongst you all, that you may continue to the end; which is the desire of Him that shall rejoice in nothing more than in the prosperity of you all, in the everlasting truth of the Son of God, heir of all things, blessed for ever, and ever, world without end.

A servant to the least, for the Truth's sake.

F. H.

SECTION III.

A General Epistle to the Seed of God.

Dear friends every where, who have believed in our Lord Jesus Christ, and are called with a holy calling to the great salvation of God, which is manifest in this the day of his power, keep your first love, and let not the threats of men, neither the frowns of the world, affright you from that which you have prized more than all the world. Now the sun is up, and a time of scorching is come, and that which hath not root will wither; now every ground will be

tried; and blessed is the good ground that brings forth the Seed which must inherit the promise. O! let not the cares of this present life choke that which God hath begotten; and, seeing the Lord hath so marvellously wrought for us hitherto, in the midst of great opposition, let not your faith fail, nor your confidence in God; who delivered Jacob of old out of his adversity, and Israel out of all his troubles; whose care is over his people now.

And having seen the emptiness of the world, and its ways and worship, let nothing blind your eyes again; and let not the things present, nor things to come, separate you from the love of God in Christ Jesus; and mind not them that draw back to perdition, but let it teach you all more diligence, to be as those that press after glory, immortality, and everlasting life. The way of God was ever hated by the world, and the powers thereof. Never heed the rough spirits, for their bound is set, and their limit known, but mind the Seed which hath dominion over all; and forsake not the assembling of yourselves together, in which you have found God, and his promise and power amongst you, and your understanding opened. O! rather suffer all things than let that go which you have believed; for whosoever do, will lose the evidence of God's Spirit in them; and their peace and joy will be lost. The Lord God preserve you all unto the end faithful.

Your dear brother, for the testimony of Jesus,

F. H.

Appleby Goal, the 10th of 3rd. month, 1664.

SECTION IV.

A VISITATION OF LOVE, PEACE, AND GOODWILL TO THE WHOLE FLOCK OF GOD; NOW IN THEIR DAY OF TRIAL, AND HOUR OF TEMPTATION.

Dear friends and brethren, who have been called to believe by the holy calling of the Lord, unto sanctification and holiness, that ye might inherit the promises of God; and that your souls might live, and partake of his goodness; that you might admire Him, and praise his Name for ever, seeing the Lord, out of his rich love and mercy, hath visited you, who sometime sat in the region and shadow of death, and were cast out of his presence, in the time of unbelief; and seeing He hath caused his miraculous Light to shine upon you in his gracious visitation, and hath given you to believe in his Name, prize his love unto you; and let not his gracious benefits slip out of your minds; lest your hearts be filled with other things, that will corrupt your hearts, and make you an unmeet habitation for the Lord to dwell in and among.

Dear friends! hear my brotherly admonition and exhortation; for the Lord moved in my heart to write unto you; and in the bowels of his kind and tender love, and motion of his heavenly Spirit, to stir up your pure minds and consciences, unto steadfastness in the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ; and so much the more, that you all be watchful, seeing the times are perilous; for now the adversary goes about roaring and ravening, on the right hand and on the left, to destroy and devour that which God hath brought forth in you: that so He might regain you too, under his power and government; and that he might revolt from the

kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, which stands in power and righteousness, and which is come, and hath been of a truth manifested in great glory.

This is an hour the power of darkness is let loose in, to try the faith of them that dwell upon the earth; and he is let loose for a season. Blessed are they that hide themselves under the shadow of the Almighty, and under the wings of Christ Jesus, who is given for a Redeemer, a Saviour, and a Preserver of men, that the wicked one touch them not: and now the devil rages, because a stronger then he that rules in the world is come, and hath begun to dispossess the strong man, and bind him, and cast him out; and now he rages and stirs up all the temptations, within and without, and all his instruments to join with him, to make war for him; in order that Christ may not rule; who is the heir of all things, and given for a Leader, and to be the head of the body his Church, in which He alone hath a right to rule; because the Lord of the whole earth, yea of heaven and earth, hath put all power into his hands, to bind and to loose; to bring out of captivity, and to lead captivity captive; that life and immortality may again inhabit in the sons of men; that truth and righteousness may sway; that mercy and love may sit on the throne; that salvation may take hold on the ends of the earth, and this power be made known from sea to sea; that all who wait for Him, and love his appearance now when He is made manifest, may rejoice in goodness and life, and may be made glad as Zebulun and Naphtali beyond Jordan, in the days of old, upon whom sprung up a marvellous light; that the whole earth may be filled with his praise and glory, which hath been filled with darkness, violence, and cruelty, in the time of the devil

and anti-christ's reign, which hath been long and great in the earth; so that the hearts of the sons of men have been corrupted, and they are gone backward from the Lord; and have been degenerated into a strange nature; and have brought forth evil and corrupt fruit like that of Sodom: and they that do evil are not at all ashamed, neither do they blush; but are become impudent through long custom of evil, and hard and impenetrable; upon whom the hammer of the Lord must come, and his indignation be poured forth.

But you whom God hath called out of this estate, into a state of redemption and purity, by his Son, the Light of the world, who hath illuminated the eyes of your minds, consciences, and understandings, that you may bear witness unto Him that is true, and a testimony against the world that lies in wickedness, and pleads for it, and lives in it, as though it were the way to felicity, hold fast your liberty; hold fast your faith; hold fast your hope; hold fast your testimony: let none take your crown; and so much the more as you are compassed with temptations, and the times are perilous; so much the more you had all need to keep near the Lord.

Dearly beloved, let not the Philistines stop up your wells; for then you might perish in the drought, for lack of moisture. The Lord will perform his promise, and keep covenant with them that keep covenant with Him; but if you forsake Him in your hearts in what is made manifest, then He will forsake you; and then you are left to the mercy of your adversary, which will be cruel. Therefore heed not the pride of Moab nor the reviling of the children of Ammon; for they are unhallowed in heart, and the moth shall eat them up as a garment.

Oh! if any draw back from following the

Lamb through suffering, they will be smitten; and the Lord will have no pleasure in them. And what will Amalek say, when Israel turn their backs in the day of battle, but, "Where is their God, in whom they trusted?" And, "He that brought them forth was not able to deliver them to the end!" Oh! that such things might never be spoken of now in Gath or Ashkelon; as in the days of old! lest the sons of the Philistines triumph, and the daughters thereof rejoice in their wickedness; for this would make the hearts of the Israel of God to mourn.

This is the day of the Lamb's war indeed in our age; and a day of battle, though his weapons are not carnal, but spiritual. And there is none that goeth to war, and doth entangle himself, that hath a purpose to hold out, and is resolved to continue with Him in suffering; but will shake off these things that encumber, lest he should not obtain the victory, promise, or crown, which all that endure hardship to the end shall receive. O dear friends! look above all visible things; and stand out of them all, and loose from them, that the enemy do not ensnare you. What! is not the earth the Lord's, and the fulness thereof? And hath not He given the utmost part of the earth for a possession to his Son? What! was not Abraham our father blessed, when he was faithful, and obeyed the voice of the Lord; and went out of his own country, he knew not whither? Was not the Lord with him whithersoever he went; and his blessing upon him, when he sojourned in a strange land? Did not God intreat him kindly in Mesopotamia, and among the Hittites? and was not he loved and feared among his enemies?

Was not John, the beloved and faithful disciple of Christ, banished into Patmos for the testimony he held? Were not Shadrach,

Meshach, and Abed-nego, children of the captivity, cast into the furnace? and Daniel too among the lions, for the testimony they held against the common worship of nations commanded by a law?

Did not Christ endure the death of the cross, and the contradiction of sinners? and was He not condemned by most? Did not the believing Hebrews, who were banished, wander in sheep skins and goat skins, into dens and caves of the earth, for the hope they held and the country they looked for? Did not Moses through faith forsake Pharaoh's court, and become companion of poor brick-makers in captivity?

A cloud of witnesses might be brought, even of them who died in the faith, and yet were not made partakers of the promises, who many of them saw not what you have seen; nor heard those things that you have heard; nor enjoyed that which God hath made many partakers of: and have we not a great cloud of witnesses in this our own age? some who have not loved their lives unto death, for the testimony they received, believed, and held fast unto the end, unto death? Have not many died in prison with hard usage? have not some been hanged, and died a shameful death, and finished their course with joy and peace? have not many endured great, hard, and long imprisonments for years? and are they yet weary? nay, have not many suffered great spoil of their goods; and have not they a reward sevenfold into their bosoms?

O! let the consideration of these things dwell upon your hearts, and provoke you unto suffering with joyfulness; that in the midst of all tribulation, as it abounds, you may feel according to the promise of God, your joy much more abound, to carry you above it: indeed now is the time come; and he that will manifest himself

to be on the Lord's side must suffer; and he that will not, but turns back into the broad way, and runs with the herd of swine into the sea of common pollution, must perish there: and indeed there is no place for halting. If God be God, follow Him; if Baal be he, go after him. And therefore let none draw you aside from that which you are persuaded of in your conscience, by the Spirit of the Lord; neither join with that you know He disallows; and in the obedience you will have peace and joy. Look not at them that draw back, for they go to perdition, but rather after them that continue faithful, that shall receive honour, glory, immortality and everlasting life.

In the fresh, heavenly power of God, meet together and worship Him, as at other times; though the decree be gone forth; and the more because you have been therein refreshed, comforted, and edified; and let none persuade you from that innocent duty, in worshiping God in his Spirit, and assembling yourselves together, for the strengthening of one another: for this is the will of God, and acceptable in his sight; as many of you well know. Watch and pray, lest you fall into temptation, and into the the snare of the wicked one. The God of heaven and earth establish all your hearts, that you may glorify Him in your generation, and be a sweet smell unto Him in bonds or liberty, in life or death, is the prayer of him who hath besought the Lord, and is determined so to do on all your behalf, till the Lord by his power, tread satan under your feet, that you may triumph over all, rejoicing and praising God, and the Lamb, that lives for ever, and for evermore, Amen.

Your dear brother in the patience and sufferings of Christ, who abounds in perfect love

to all the faithful flock of Christ everywhere,
F. H.

From Appleby Goal, the place of my rest, where my days and hours are pleasant unto me, the 4th. of the 5th. month, 1664.

SECTION V.

A GENERAL EPISTLE TO ALL WHO HAVE BELIEVED IN THE LIGHT OF THE LORD JESUS, AND ARE CALLED OF GOD TO FOLLOW THE LAMB THROUGH GREAT TRIBULATION.

Dear friends, who are called out of the world and the vanities of it, to serve the Living God in newness of life, and to be worshipers of Him in spirit and in truth, and to be followers of Christ in the regeneration, and to be baptized with Him into his suffering and death; that so you may be partakers of his resurrection and life, and manifest unto all that you are risen with Him, out of the grave of sin, wickedness, and death, by having your hearts renewed, and your affections and minds set to seek those things which are above, which are not transitory and visible, but everlasting and immortal; by which the souls of all the righteous and obedient children are refreshed, and nourished up unto eternal Life; through the eternal power of the Son of God, which hath been and is manifest among them that believe in the measure of his Spirit, and keep their first love and integrity unto the Lord. All his are preserved out of the temptation of the adversary within and without, who seeks to root out that which God hath planted, and to nip the blossom and the bud which God hath caused to spring forth,

through his tender love in your hearts, so that you might die to the good, and be spoiled in that wherein all your happiness lieth now and for ever.

O! therefore, all watch and be circumspect, so much the more against temptations; lest you be ensnared, and your faith fail, and you fall short of the promise of God in not continuing faithful to the end. Friends, a care, and a tender love, and a godly jealousy is in my heart to you, and over you all that have believed; that none of you may be lost, and scattered again in the deserts and mountains, and dry and parched places, where you have sometimes been in the time of unbelief; where the goats that are rough can feed, that must go to the left hand and have the curse.

The zeal of the Lord and his truth, who so gloriously hath been manifest among you, above all the people and families of the earth in our generation, constrains me thus to write unto you; and to stir you up unto faithfulness in this day of trial: for now satan desires to winnow you within, and to sift you without. Therefore all watch and pray, that your faith fail not, which now will be tried, and also your hope, and your love, and your zeal to the Lord and his truth; proving whether you will confess Him before men, his way, worship, laws, and statutes, which He hath revealed in your hearts, which fallen men oppose, and contradict, and gainsay; and would not have Him to rule, nor his servants to obey. So let it be manifest to all, that you fear God rather than men, and love Him, and obey Him above the precepts of men which are against Him; and whether you love the things that are above, beyond the things that are earthly; and whether you will own Him, his cross, reproach, and suffering, or deny

Him and have the liberty of the world, which is bondage, and free from righteousness.

It is no time of reserves, concealing, hovering, or halting: for there is an utter discord betwixt Christ and Belial: and as Christ, his power, and kingdom, are brought forth; so much the more are the hatred, envy, and wrath of the Devil kindled, who hath deceived the nations, blinded their eyes, and manifested himself in his subjects who oppose the Lamb of God, and tread under foot the blood of the Covenant. Therefore all children of the day, put on the armour of Light; and have your feet shod, now when we walk through thorny places, and be not fearful or doubtful, but of believing hearts; stand not aloof and idle when others are engaged in the spiritual war; pull not your necks out of the yoke when others draw; shelter not yourselves when you see others in jeopardy; love not the world when you see others have thrown it off; be not entangled in cumbersome things when you see others throw off all weights; turn not your backs in the day of controversy; but follow the Lamb.

This is the day of tribulation in which we have to follow Him in our age, like as all the martyrs and prophets had in their age; whose garments were made white in the blood of the Lamb: so all that continue and are not faint hearted, shall receive the crown, the honour, the reward; and they shall reign with Christ, who now suffer with Him. Therefore all dear children of God, and followers of Christ Jesus, let the loins of your minds be girded up; be now ready when the Lord calls: "Who is on my side? who will take part with Me? who will own my reproach? who will engage with Me? who will gather to my standard of salvation lifted up, and to my ensign of righteousness, held forth in the world

to redeem it?" May all say in their hearts: "Here am I, ready to do thy will, ready to obey Thee and follow Thee, and to suffer for Thee;" for whoso draws back the Lord hath no pleasure in him.

He that will save his life shall lose it; and he that will save his liberty shall lose it in the Spirit; and he that will save hise arthly possession, and for it will deny that which God hath persuaded him, that he ought to be faithful in, he will lose his inheritance in the heavenly kingdom.

In a word, whosoever fail in holding forth the testimony, which they know God requires, and that it is their duty to render unto Him, will lose the testimony of his Spirit, which they have sometimes felt in themselves, and will decay; and their love will wear out. Therefore, whosoever are resigned and given up unto the Lord, will be approved, and manifested to be on the Lord's part, by obedience to these things mentioned.

Friends, do you not believe it a duty that every Christian ought to be exercised in, to meet together to wait upon God, to worship Him, and to admonish, exhort, and strengthen one another; to pray together in the Holy Ghost, and one for another; and to edify and comfort one another? And do you not believe that "God dwells not in temples made with hands," neither hath any fellowship with idols; but is worshiped any where, and in every place where the saints meet in his Name? Again, have you not been comforted, edified, and strengthened in meeting; and have you not found the presence of the Lord and his face; and have you not felt his great power working in your hearts, when you were assembled together in his Name; working in you to the opening of your hearts,

and quickening and enlivening your souls unto God, and judging down the evil? And have you not felt his loving mercies shed abroad in you, and the spring of Life opened, and the holy Seed refreshed, and God's witness reached in all, and many convinced and converted unto God in your assemblies; so that all have gone away comforted and refreshed, and resolved to continue in the grace of God.

The consideration of these things dwelling in your hearts, and the sense of your own present condition, should stir you up and provoke you unto steadfastness, in the faith and practice you have received and walked in, from the beginning of the manifestation of God's love unto you; so that there should need little exhortation. God's enemies are resolved to do wickedly; be ye also resolved to do your duty. They seek by any means to make any fall from their principles and steadfastness: do you seek to escape their snares, and to be kept clear in your consciences before God. Be valiant for the Truth; sell it not, but sell all for it, that it may be your all; and then you shall see your lot is fallen in a good place, and that your possession is pleasant.

The Lord calls now to suffering; put now your necks into the yoke; "bear one another's burthens, and so fulfil the law of Christ:" and take heed you give not ear to that voice that speaks: "Save thy liberty; save thy estate; possess thy own, and provide for thyself; and spare thyself;" that is the voice of the enemy of your souls: so keep over the world and its spirit; let no slackness appear, for that makes sufferings long; and that gives ground to your adversaries to hope that they shall prevail; and that weakens the hands of others and strengthens not. This confirms our enemies in their belief

that we are but as other men and people, who have professed God in summer and fair weather; but will make shipwreck of all in a storm, and in suffering: and any turning aside from the holy commandment of God, openeth the mouth of God's enemies. Seek not every one your own profit, ease, life, and liberty only; but every one another's good; and mind not only one member but the whole body. Heed not them that draw back: they are no precedent for you to follow; but those that press forward, and are not offended in the time of hardship, are your precedent. Heed not them that will tell you they can keep their hearts upright to God, and retain their love to truth and friends, and yet will not afford their presence in your assemblies, but escape suffering, and deny the cross, and neglect their present duty; for that is deceit; and their own hearts will deceive them.

Put not off till to-morrow; defer not the time till you can see some more ease, and some greater calm. Beware of that; for then coldness, fearfulness, and slavishness will enter in; and you will lose your strength. Moreover if any have begun well, and are persuaded of the truth of what they have believed, and continue not unto the end, and do not finish; such will be reckoned foolish builders, that could not finish; and all will mock them; and our adversaries will glory over them.

Again, when any suffer or are brought into bonds for Christ and the Gospel's sake, let them not seek to get out by any indirect means, neither make any covenant with the adversary, who would sell both them, and all faith and hope for money; for that encourages deceit; and that spirit would buy itself out of the service

of God, and grow weary. Give no place to that: be content every one with your present condition, till God arise and plead our cause, and make our innocency and righteousness appear as noon day, and make his adversaries his footstool; which undoubtedly He will do, and make all know that the Most High ought to rule, and will rule in the kingdoms of men; and not give his glory to another, neither suffer another to take it.

Be conformable to none that go about under pretence of love, to persuade or counsel you from your duty to God; neither submit to them that would betray you of your peace. Heed not the frowns of corrupt men, nor the counsel of them who mind their own pleasure, ease, profit, and earthly things; let not natural affections and love, either to lands, wife or children, blind your eyes; but love them, and receive them in the Lord, and enjoy them as though they hindered not. Stand loose from all things, and out of entanglements; and cast your care upon the Lord, who careth for the fatherless and the widow, and them that have no helper in the earth. Give no occasion or advantage to any that would turn your hearts aside from following the Lord; lest their love betray you. Give up all you have and enjoy, to the Lord and his service; and your souls, bodies, and spirits, as a sacrifice unto the Lord, that He may accept you, and pour forth and continue his blessing amongst you. Never heed the threats of them that are as the oaks of Bashan, nor of the men of the earth, that mind their pleasure and lusts; who shut you up in prison, and hale you before judgment-seats for the worship of God, and falsely accuse you, and condemn you when God justifies you.

Friends! dwell above all these things, and the devil and his rage. The earth is the Lord's and the fulness of it; we cannot be banished from God's presence, neither shall they ever be able to root out that testimony which is among us. The God of power strengthen you all; that you may quit yourselves like men of God, like children of the Most High, whose inheritance is not here in the world, but in the kingdom that fades not away.

The Lord God of power be with you, make you consider what I say, and cause you to receive this my true love unto you all, for the Lord's sake; who partakes with all the suffering members of Christ in their bonds; and shall, and can rejoice in your comfort and joy. The peace of God dwell in your hearts, and his heavenly Light shine upon all your tabernacles; that you may be as beautiful in the eyes of the Lord, as the roses of Sharon; and blossom as the lillies of the valley; and yield your fruit as the fig-tree that casteth not her fruit. The Lord takes our part; let none doubt of that;—and pleads our cause; let all consider that;—our enemies shall see it, and be troubled at this; and time shall manifest it; therefore be of believing hearts, and trust in the Lord; so shall you never be confounded, neither be ashamed; but be as Mount Sion that cannot be removed: and as the mountains are round about Jerusalem, so shall the mercies of the Lord compass you about, from this time forth and for evermore.

Friends, faith is sealed in my heart, and love in my veins, and gladness in my soul, and peace in my conscience; so that none doth or can hinder my rejoicing. Praise be to the Lord for ever and ever. Amen.

The Lord's servant, and yours in all true, unfeigned, pure love.

F. H.